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NEW TIMES

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Hundreds of thousands of discoveries, inventions, original designs and engineering ideas are patented worldwide every year, with the Soviet Union responsible for a fifth of them. Significantly, innovations by our scientists and inventors find increasingly wide application abroad.

Many of them come from factories, design offices and laboratories of the Urals. The Chelyabinsk Polytechnical Institute alone has produced 450 inventions over the past few years. Some of them have attracted the attention of foreign metallurgical companies—89 patents have been vended in industrialized countries. A revolutionary metal-rolling technique developed in Chelyabinsk has been taken up in Japan and the F.R.G.

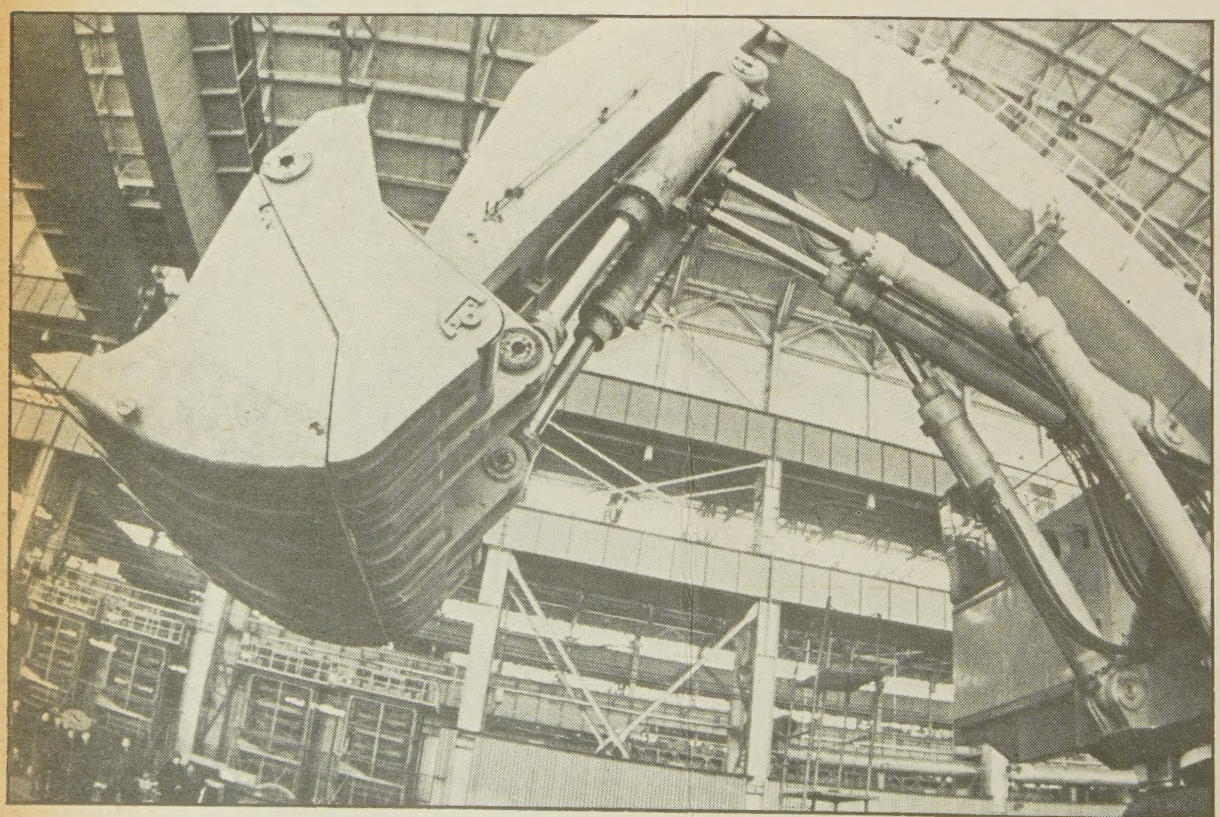
The famous Uralmash Plant in Sverdlovsk and the Urals Heavy Engineering Institute have made a substantial contribution to scientific and industrial progress. Minerals are extracted in our country on a scale requiring machines and mechanisms of entirely new designs such as the EG-20 excavator, for instance, which is up to the highest modern standards. It is more powerful and economical than its predecessors and needs far fewer people to operate it. The last point is of special value because the new machine will be used in rugged areas and rigorous climates where manpower is short.

The giant plant and the major scientific centre cooperate as constituent parts of a research and production amalgamation combining impressive industrial capabilities with considerable research potential. This form of organization expedites the process of putting inventions to industrial use and promotes scientific, technological and economic advance.

A Uralmash factory shop.

A new idea taking shape in a design office at the Urals Heavy Engineering Institute.

An excavator just off the assembly line.



Photos by A. Gushchin

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

ONLY BY JOINT EFFORT

The socialist countries' proposal for a comprehensive international security system which has been entered on the agenda of the current U.N. General Assembly session is a clarion call to unite the efforts of all to save our common home from destruction in a global thermonuclear holocaust. It was on this problem that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze focussed attention in his speech at the General Assembly on September 23.

The idea is to establish a world order that would guarantee a peaceful future to every country taken separately and the world community as a whole. In other words, to put the safety catch on the nuclear pistol pressed against the temple of mankind.

The world has become too small and peace too fragile for the security of some countries to be ensured at the expense of others. Security has ceased to be the prerogative of the chosen. It can only be universal, equal for all. Consequently, the responsibility for guarantees of security rests with all states taken together.

Today not only the nuclear powers, but all the countries of the world are in possession of the key to a future without wars, without mass destruction weapons.

The system of universal security must be comprehensive. In the military sphere this means steps towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere, and in the political sphere, the resolution of acute regional problems by negotiation. In the world economy it implies restructuring economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and in the humanitarian sphere, promotion of contacts and observance of human rights, above all the right to live in freedom.

These are the fundamental principles that should be given concrete embodiment. All fruitful ideas, wherever they come from, should be given a hearing. A great many constructive proposals have been advanced by the non-aligned movement, the Delhi Six, various parties, and also independent organizations such as the Palme Commission.

What is needed is joint effort for peace, and the United Nations is the forum that is called upon to bring together all the currents of thought and action projected to this end. The establishment of a comprehensive system of worldwide security, the building of a truly lasting peace, the exclusion of war from the life of humanity are the imperatives of our time.

This can be achieved by all of us working together.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

I think President Reagan wants to divide the world. Such an attempt, we know, was made more than 40 years ago. Though Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan have joined the U.S. "star wars," I believe outer space must be kept free of the weapons involved in this project. Therefore I urge progressives the world over, and especially young people, to unite in the fight against the nuclear and conventional arms race. The funds now wasted on arms could be used to eliminate hunger, disease and unemployment.

Baire CAMPAÑA
Havana, Cuba

●

The news of the extension by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium has been flashed around the world and attracted universal attention. I believe that this time Washington will be unable to remain silent. What propaganda trick will it invent now and how will it defend its stand! More and more people are beginning to understand that the moratorium is the key to the halting of the arms race and the reduction of nuclear weapons.

V. PETROV
Feodosia, U.S.S.R.

●

I want to respond to V. Samsonov (No. 23 for this year) who would like to know what Americans think of the U.S. attack on Libya. Our President, I believe, was easily able to deceive people, who failed to take a sober view of this event. Moreover, some Americans were completely unaware of what had happened. This is a very serious problem. I would single out the capitalist media as an accomplice in the venture against Libya.

Stephen CONTRADO
Hull, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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TRADE UNIONS: NEW FRONTIERS

The 11th World Trade Union Congress has completed its deliberations in the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

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TRAGEDY AT LAKE NIOS

Details of the tragedy at Lake Nios, hypotheses advanced and commentary by Nikodim Sozinov, D.Sc. (Geology and Mineralogy).

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NEIGHBOURS IN THE PACIFIC

Of these islands in the Bering Strait, one of which belongs to the U.S.S.R. and the other to the U.S.A., read on

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NUREMBERG RETROSPECT

Reminiscences of witnesses.

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WHEN THE BEARS COME ON TOP

share prices fall on the New York Stock Exchange. About the threat of a recession in the U.S. economy read on

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"DARK EYES"

Marcello Mastroianni in a Soviet-Italian film.

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Dmitry Davydov, in his well-known song "Beautiful Sea, Sacred Baikal," had good reason to compare Lake Baikal with the sea. It is the deepest freshwater lake in the world (1,620 metres). Impressive, truly comparable to seas, are its area (31,500 square kilometres), length (636 kilometres), and maximum width (79 kilometres). All told, 336 rivers flow into the Baikal, but only one, the Angara, has its source there.

"The Baikal is remarkable, and the Siberians have good reason to call it not a lake but a sea," Anton Chekhov wrote. "You can see through its limpid water as clearly as through air and its pale turquoise colour is pleasing to the eye. Its hilly shores are covered with forests."

Lake Baikal is a priceless pearl in which we take pride, and we are deeply concerned for its future. Everything must be done to preserve it for generations to come in the natural state in which we inherited it from our ancestors.

TASS photo

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TURNING POINT IN THE LIFE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

This is how Mikhail Gorbachev, visiting the Kuban area and the Stavropol Region, described the period our country is now going through. On his way back to Moscow after a holiday he visited areas that are very familiar to him—many years ago he worked there. Their population is five million. Having raised a bumper grain crop this year, the Kuban and the Stavropol Region have lived up to their reputation as the country's granary.

Mikhail Gorbachev visited collective and state farms—both prosperous and less prosperous ones, met local people, and made planned and impromptu statements. In 1985 and earlier this year he made trips to Leningrad, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the petroleum-rich Tyumen, the virgin lands and the Far East. The trips were marked by an atmosphere of frank, honest and informal discussion. The Soviet leader sought to exchange information and views with his audiences, learn from the people themselves what their personal and social problems were, and transmit to them the impulses being generated by the upper echelons of Party and state leadership. The meetings were given nationwide TV and press coverage.

Intensive production processes and prospects of purchasing grain for hard currency.... Why is the prestige of being an engineer so low? Aren't we too soft in dealing with the West? The agenda of those unusual meetings was almost unlimited. The specific features of our time and the essence of restructuring were the main subjects of discussion.

The following are some of Mikhail Gorbachev's pronouncements:

On Restructuring

● Under no circumstance should we drown restructuring in talk, and empty verbiage. The important task is to make restructuring irreversible, to have it galvanize the enormous forces inherent in our socialist system.

● There can be no living, working, thinking and acting in the old way. Without restructuring we shall never carry out the objectives we have set ourselves, the tasks put forward by the 27th Party Congress.

Among the most salient features of the current approach, Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned realism, openness, the emphasis on making full use of the potential socialism offers, and the human factor.

On Democracy

● I think of the progress our people have made, of their intellectual and creative potential, and I have to admit that we do not use it in dealing with national problems but resort instead to directives and orders.

● We must get people involved in the restructuring process through the democratization of society. In simple terms, restructuring means providing—in every work collective, in every Party organization, in every region, republic, industry, in each central government body and in the entire Party—the prerequisites for our people to feel that they are masters of the country.

● The process of democratization is not to be feared. Far from weakening our society, it will strengthen it. Neither discipline, nor order will suffer as a consequence of democratization. On the contrary, the state of affairs will be improved by conscious effort.

On War and Peace

● We are working hard for peace. Previously the U.S. tried to justify all its militaristic plans with vague conjectures about the Soviet Union and distortions of its image and foreign policy.

It is asserted, firstly, that the Soviet Union threatens to conquer the world, seeks military supremacy and intends to occupy the whole of Western Europe. The Soviet Union allegedly wants to get hold of Africa and Asia. This is how they paint the image of the Soviet Union which they refer to as "the Russian bear," "the Russian aggressor."

They have also alleged that the Soviet Union is against any control, that it is impossible to deal with us, and that we do not observe the agreements reached. All these assertions have been disproved, as you see. We have come up with a policy, right across the board, which is hard to call into question because it is a policy of peace. Now people can no longer be taken in by assertions that the Soviet Union engages in propaganda, or that it wants war.

● Our principle is to conduct a firm policy and to uphold the precepts I have mentioned, but to do this in a constructive way. We must show restraint, but restraint is not softness.

I realize that you want the Soviet Union to be strong and to take a firm stand for peace. You are quite right to want this. ■

THE SOVIET MORATORIUM AND THE AMERICANS

"He had the right of way," says a noteworthy tombstone inscription. These words, often quoted in America as half-joke half-legend, were recently recalled in a far from jesting mood. The familiar—and sinister—associations were prompted by the U.S. President's arms control policy.

The association is not accidental. The stark choice facing humanity has been thrown into unusual relief since the Soviet Union countered Washington's militaristic policy with a series of initiatives aimed at curtailing the arms race. What distinguishes the present situation is that despite the global nature of the problem, and the often mind-boggling complexity of the specific issues, the choice is clear even to the man in the street. It's either or.... Either become victim of one's own ambitions, or heed the voice of reason.

Rather startlingly, the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests has brought final clarity to the issue.

One should not underestimate the effect of the mass media. When, following the spokesmen for the U.S. Administration, they proclaimed the Soviet moratorium to be a clever propaganda gimmick, many people believed it. And the mass media themselves appeared to have little doubt. Consider the reaction in the U.S. after the holding of another nuclear test in Nevada on April 10. It was preceded by the U.S.S.R.'s statement of its readiness to observe the moratorium after its first extension (until March 31) if the U.S. did not resume tests. That condition was violated on April 10.

The Washington Post proclaimed that the Russians were anxious to resume tests. Echoing it, the Boston Globe wrote: "The test, officials say, will almost certainly force Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to resume nuclear testing." It even referred to some kind of earthwork which allegedly showed that the Russians were preparing one of their nuclear test ranges for a blast. There was an ill-disguised hope that, by abandoning the moratorium, the Russian side would help Washington out of its predicament. The provocative nature of the American test did not pass unnoticed.

The Soviet government was faced with a difficult choice. And yet it did not allow itself to be diverted from its basic commitment to weaken and subsequently eliminate the nuclear danger. The moratorium, now extended until January 1, 1987, has emerged as a major factor of international politics showing an indisputably realistic and immediate way out of the nuclear stalemate. In this context, Washington is seen by its own people and the world as the sole party to blame for the absence of an agreement to ban nuclear tests which, according to the Boston Globe, provide the start shots in any arms race. The attitude to the moratorium has proved to be the touchstone by which the unity of words and actions is tried.

Two Positions

This accounts for the biggest gap, in recent years at least, between the position of the Administration and Americans at large, including many members of the ruling elite, scientists and public figures. We see, in fact, two mutually exclusive positions.

The official position was set out by the U.S. President in an interview with the Mexican newspaper Excelsior published on August 19, the day the Soviet newspapers carried the text of the televised statement by Mikhail Gorbachev. The President proclaimed that the moratorium does not meet the security interests of the U.S., its allies and friends and that now and for some time to come the security of the U.S., its allies and friends should be based on reliable and effective nuclear deterrence which entails the need to carry out tests. This part of the interview has since been repeated like a litany each time the U.S. Administration's attitude to the Soviet moratorium is raised.

The U.S. had reason to reject the Soviet moratorium out of hand. A discussion of the moratorium would reveal the weakness of its opponents' case, and provide another reminder of the existence of a simple means of arms limitation that does not call for complex negotiations and to which the Soviet Union has already agreed. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. has been observing its unilateral commitment for a prolonged period of time. Hence the tendency not to mention the moratorium at all. The Western press has done just this.

Not so ordinary Americans, numerous public figures and organizations, and Congressmen, many of whom have described it as an important step in the right direction. A leader of the Washington bureau of the national campaign for a nuclear weapons freeze stressed that, now that the Soviet Union has extended its moratorium, it rests with the Reagan Administration whether a mutual test ban treaty is concluded. Senator Edward Kennedy has spoken in favour of the moratorium. Eugene Carroll, a retired admiral, said that "a test ban will prevent you from developing and deploying new technology. If you knock the technology out of the process, you don't have the push for constantly coming up with new systems, new ways of delivering weapons." Paul Warnke, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, asks why Washington continues the rivalry in nuclear weapons if the Russians have proved that they can counter with something equivalent.

A mass demonstration in Washington on September 19 under the slogan "Join the Newly-Extended Soviet Moratorium on All Nuclear Explosions" highlights efforts to join forces towards a common goal. The moratorium has provided an effective means of mobiliz-

ing public opinion. "The Reagan Administration, an acknowledged master of public relations, is nevertheless having trouble shaping the public debate over the issue of nuclear testing," the New York Times writes. The longer the Soviet moratorium lasts the more supporters it gets.

What Comparisons Show

Ellen Goodman of the Washington Post assesses the situation thus: "In sum, the Kremlin wants a ban and so do the American people. The White House doesn't."

This is not a comment made on the spur of the moment. The changes in American public opinion are profound. In 1981, when the new Administration was embarking on its long-term programme of rearmament, 70 per cent of Americans were in favour of increased military spending. By the middle of 1985 that figure had dropped to 14 per cent. This can only be interpreted as disagreement with the consequences of a militaristic policy both internationally and domestically. The experience of the early 1980s, with its glorification of force, astronomical arms spending and neglect of social problems, is making itself felt.

The present Administration and the capitalist press have been at pains to prove that the U.S. is lagging behind the U.S.S.R. and that America must recover its unchallengeable might (they prefer not to use the term "superiority"). Replies to a poll on arms control issues conducted in the U.S. four years after the start of the militaristic programme are revealing. I quote:

Question. At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of nuclear weapons, the U.S. or the Soviet Union—or do you think they are about equal in nuclear strength?

Answers. U.S.A. stronger—24 per cent, U.S.S.R. stronger—23 per cent, equal —44 per cent.

Question. Do you think the military strength of the U.S. should be superior to that of the Soviet Union, should be about equal in strength, or has the U.S. no need to be exactly as strong as the Soviet Union?

Answers. Superior—37 per cent, about equal—50 per cent. (Note that the ratio is a mirror image of that in 1981.)

Question. Do you think the U.S. and the Soviet Union already have so many nuclear weapons that it does not matter anymore which country has more or do you think further increases in nuclear weapons could give one country a real advantage over the other?

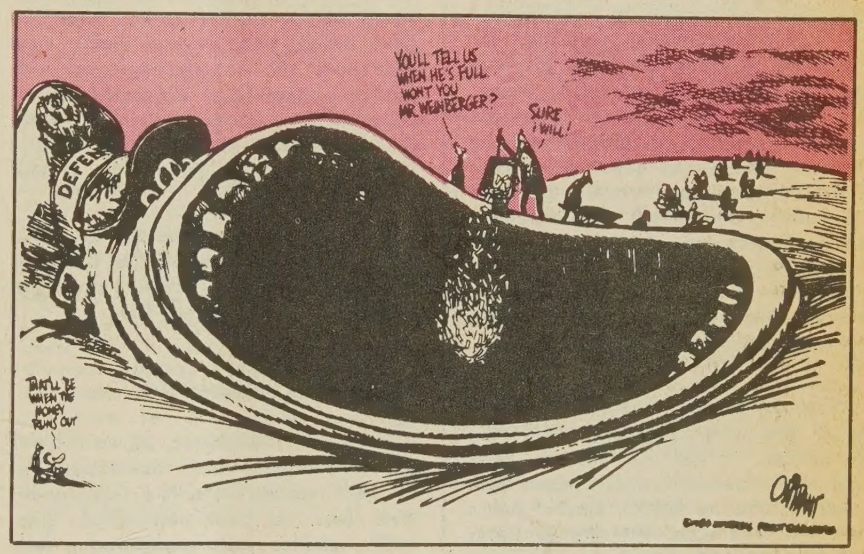
Answers. Does not matter—60 per cent, gives an advantage—29 per cent.

Question. Gorbachev looks like the kind of Russian leader who will recognize that both the Soviets and the Americans can destroy each other with nuclear missiles, so it is better to come to verifiable arms control agreements.

Answers. Agree—79 per cent, disagree—18 per cent.

One might add that 56 per cent of those polled oppose the spending of billions of dollars for the U.S. to develop anti-missile weapons in outer space and on Earth.

Commenting on these shifts in public opinion, the New York Times wrote: "President Reagan's nuclear programmes and attitudes have convinced many Americans that his intent in testing goes beyond these relatively benign objectives, and that he is jeopardizing chances of topping off and reducing the Soviet and American arsenals." More force as an instrument of politics is now rather an invitation to catastrophe than a means of avoiding it. Reason and common sense refuse to believe that protection should be sought under a mushroom cloud.



From Saint Louis Post-Dispatch

New Factors

All this is bad news for the U.S. Administration because it is in a minority. Even the CIA has had to revise its former assessments. It has, for instance, admitted to having overstated the power of Soviet tests by at least 20 per cent and thus in effect refuted the U.S. Administration's charges that the U.S.S.R. was violating the agreements. It is not that the CIA has tried to call the Pentagon's bluff. Simply, the means of verification are today so sophisticated that it is no longer possible to lie with impunity.

In March, the heads of government of India, Sweden, Argentina, Mexico, Greece and Tanzania appealed to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to stop all nuclear tests at least until the next summit meeting. Sixty-four Congressmen wrote to Reagan that in rejecting this extremely sensible proposal the U.S. was damaging its reputation, while at the same time the Soviet side had gained a colossal international advantage by introducing a unilateral moratorium and adopting the proposals contained in the five-continent initiative.

The letter proved to be a kind of warning. Congress, which throughout Reagan's term as President approved all the Pentagon's programmes and budget requests without a murmur (the bill stands at $1.1 trillion), suddenly went into action. Before its August recess, the House of Representatives voted for substantial cuts in military appropriations for the fiscal year 1987 which begins on October 1, and for a year-long freeze from January 1 on nuclear explosions of over one kiloton, and a ban on testing anti-satellite weapons and the manufacture of a new generation of chemical weapons. It did not agree to increasing spending on "star wars." Commenting on the results of the vote, the Christian Science Monitor draws the far-reaching conclusion that Congress is steering its own course on arms control. Time will tell if the legislators are really as determined as they appear to be. Be that as it may, their behaviour highlights the new factors which are—slowly and timidly perhaps—fighting their way to recognition.

Banking on Ignorance

Attempts have not only been made to pass over the Soviet moratorium in silence but also to discredit the very idea by resorting to untenable and

downright fraudulent arguments, counting on insufficient public knowledge of the matter. There have even been attempts at scaremongering.

When the House of Representatives backed the idea of a moratorium and refused to finance anti-satellite weapons tests, Reagan made a speech accusing the legislators of being unpatriotic and compromising national security.

And in the same speech (for the umpteenth time!) he accused the Soviet Union of violating its commitments. The President said: "Has the majority of the House forgotten history? In 1958 the United States agreed to a similar moratorium.... Three years later, the Soviets unilaterally smashed that moratorium.... We must not make the same mistake again." That is a serious and totally groundless accusation.

In November 1958 the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Britain began talks on banning nuclear tests and introduced a moratorium that was to be renewed annually. On December 31, 1959, President Eisenhower cancelled the agreement, declaring: "We consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapons testing." Jerome Wiesner, member of a scientific consultative committee under President Eisenhower, attests that the statement came as a complete surprise even to the President's closest aides and the time chosen to make it—the quiet afternoon of New Year's eve—suggests that the President hoped it would pass unnoticed.

What happened then? The Soviet Union continued to comply with the moratorium. It did not resume tests until September 1961 when France, then a full member of NATO, carried out a series of four tests. The United States had also resumed testing.

Perhaps Dwight Eisenhower had succeeded, by clever timing, in keeping the general public in the dark. But it is impossible to believe that senior officials, including the President, were honestly deluded. And yet the false accusation continues to float around and is voiced at the highest levels.

There was another subterfuge which is being played down as if it had no importance. Let us recall the sequence of events.

In June 1963 President Kennedy proclaimed a freeze on nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The following month the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Britain signed a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. It should be noted that the treaty contains a clause binding the three sides to seek an end to all explosions of nuclear weapons for all time.

Subsequent developments were directed towards precisely that goal. In 1974 the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. signed a treaty limiting the yield of nuclear explosions to 150 kilotons. An exchange of geological, seismic and other data for proper verification was envisaged. In 1976 a new treaty limited the yield of peaceful nuclear explosions. Today, it has to be stressed that the United States refused to ratify both treaties and thus rejected the exchange of information—very convenient for those who continue to talk about "unverifiability" and "Russian cheating."

In 1977 tripartite talks on a comprehensive test ban were resumed. Three years later they were suspended by the United States just as a basic agreement on verification and other issues had emerged. In 1982 the U.S. put an end to talks altogether, consigning the problem of a test ban to the long term. Referring recently to the State Department spokesman's announcement to this effect, an Associated Press diplomatic observer wrote that a comprehensive test ban could be considered only "when we have broad, deep and verifiable arms reductions, substantially improved verification capabilities, expanded confidence-building measures and greater balance in conventional forces." This is a case of shelving the problem if ever there was one.

To sum up, then, one can say that Mr Reagan has become the first U.S. President to refuse to conduct any negotiations on a nuclear test ban.

Common Denominator

Since the 1963 treaty, 28 new types of warhead have been developed. All of them needed tests. If a comprehensive ban had been negotiated then, MIRV missiles, now considered a serious threat to nuclear stability, would not have appeared.

The eighth Trident-1 submarine was launched in Groton, Connecticut, in August, and the ninth will be launched in November. All in all, twenty such submarines are to be built. By the end of the decade the Trident-2 missile system will have started to be deployed. This is the most destructive of all systems deployed by the United States. The first MX missile has been installed in its silo. Under development are a mobile Midgetman missile and a nuclear sea-based cruise missile. The Livermore laboratory is thinking of developing insertable nuclear components which, in the words of one of its personnel, "would create an arms control nightmare" because conventional and nuclear weapons would look alike. And, needless to say, work is going on full steam to develop a strike weapon for "star wars." Two anti-satellite launches in a row have just taken place, and next year construction of a complex for the purpose will begin on Kwajalein Atoll.

All these systems have one thing in common: they all require tests. According to the Washington Post, the intensity of nuclear weapons tests is higher by one third under the new Administration than under the previous one. Another set of calculations has been provided by the Los Alamos laboratories—the second workshop where nuclear weapons are designed. Until now the development of a new weapon required about six underground tests. Today, they say, it may take between 100 and 200 tests, owing to the complexity of the physical processes and weapon design. So the Yucca Flats testing ground in Nevada figures prominently in the plans of those who are behind all these programmes. Washington's fears that an explosion would be impossible to register if the "tricky Russians" were to hold them in outer space, during earthquakes, on the other side of the Moon and Sun, or in huge underground caverns, are all designed to camouflage this central fact.

Words and Actions

Alas, all these U.S. "fears" have been deprived of any credibility by the stand of the Soviet Union, which is paying great attention to verification, numerous testimonies from scientists and the joint work of Soviet and American experts in the Semipalatinsk area. Verification, to all intents and purposes, is no longer a problem.

Washington is reported to be going to propose a cut in the number of tests and link it to the number of weapons, and set about strengthening the base for seismic detection and identification of small nuclear explosions. In other words, it may be ready to make concessions in order to preserve tests as such. This is, in fact, the essence of the American stand. Richard Perle, the Pentagon's number two who has the title of "the person in charge of World War III," says that "the sense that we and the Russians could compose our differences, reduce them to treaty constraints and then rely on compliance—I don't agree with any of that." Clearly, he was not speaking for himself alone.

There has recently been a spate of pronouncements by high-ranking Administration officials. Kenneth Adelman, Direc-

tor of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, William Taft, Deputy Secretary of Defence, George Shultz, Secretary of State, General Abrahamson, head of the "star wars" programme.... Although their arguments varied, they all shared a common element which was summed up, with characteristic bluntness, by the Pentagon chief, Caspar Weinberger, who said that "the President wants arms reduction more than anyone in the country and has taken more effective steps to get it in leading the restoration of America's military power."

The Defence Secretary may be patting himself on the back for having produced a formula pitched at the doves while also suiting the hawks. The trouble is that it meets with less and less support. Les Aspin, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, formulated his attitude to the problem in terms that would have been unthinkable only a few months ago. In a message to the President he says: "Your policy is but two-dimensional. The one dimension is rhetorical flourishes about reducing armaments by half—rhetoric never followed by action. The other dimension is the demand for more and more weaponry—rhetoric always followed by action."

All this explains why a mood of optimism has been emanating from Washington over the past few weeks. There are predictions of a breakthrough at the current Soviet-American negotiations, and an early summit meeting, but nothing is being done to help these very real hopes to materialize. The aim of this tactic is to lull people, mislead them and thus weaken resistance. All this, however, cannot conceal the fact that the ball is now in the American court, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his replies to questions from the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Rude Pravo.

This, then, is the present state of affairs. It may sound paradoxical, but the more Washington perseveres, the stronger the counteraction. For the Soviet Union is pointing the way to the resolution of the nuclear dilemma with words and actions. And in doing so, it proceeds not from selfish interests but from a profound awareness that in the nuclear age the security of one depends directly on the security of others.

Y. GUDKOV

The Moratorium and the Developing Countries

DMITRY VOLSKY

The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, now prolonged until the beginning of 1987, has met with wide support in the developing countries—support not only in the form of declarations, but of concrete political initiatives.

"We are dealing with the most formidable adversary in all our history," a prominent American diplomat said not long ago. "What makes things particularly difficult for us is that the language that adversary speaks is the language of peace."

This language is becoming increasingly understandable to people everywhere, including the majority of the world's population living in the multilingual and multifaceted developing world. The response there to the latest prolongation by the Soviet Union of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions is convincing testimony to this. Moscow's constructive move was welcomed by the governments of many Third World countries and the most diverse sections of society. At its summit conference held in early September in Harare, the non-aligned movement, which unites more than 100 countries, unanimously declared in support of the moratorium and urged the other nuclear powers to follow the Soviet example.

Stimulus to Activity

All this of course was not unexpected—peace initiatives have always evoked a positive reaction in most of the developing countries. Nevertheless, there are new elements to the present "echo of the silence" on the Soviet Union's nuclear testing grounds. The public and political leaders in many of these countries have responded to our moratorium not only by voicing their approbation and declaring in favour of the total termination of all testing. The Soviet initiative has been a stimulus to practical, concrete action, primarily to efforts to create zones of peace or non-nuclear zones in different parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the oceans adjoining these continents which is particularly notable and important today.

In **Southeast Asia,** the Indo-China countries have long advocated the creation of a zone of peace and stability. The countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) too have been talking about a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, but until now evaded the problem of nuclear weapons. Today they have taken an unequivocal approach to this problem. Indonesia has proposed the proclamation of Southeast Asia a nuclear-free zone and has been supported by all the ASEAN countries, as is recorded in the final communiqué of the conference of ASEAN Foreign Ministers held in Manila in June. The decision was taken despite the pressure exerted by the U.S. Secretary of State.

Some fifteen years ago the U.N. declared for making the **Indian Ocean** a zone of peace. But owing to the resistance of the Western powers no international conference on this crucial question from the standpoint of international security has been convened to this day. Now the littoral non-aligned countries are firmly determined to hold such a conference not later than 1988.

Although the project for the creation in the **South Pacific** of a zone free of nuclear weapons emerged later, it proved easier to realize: in early August 1985, when the Soviet moratorium was announced, 13 countries of the region concluded in Avarua (the Cook Islands) a treaty on a nuclear-free zone. The U.S., whose navy ships with nuclear weapons on board ply the South Pacific, and France, which conducts tests of these weapons on Mururoa Island there, ignore this document. But according to press reports the protest movement in the Pacific countries against the U.S. and French actions gained added momentum after the prolongation of the Soviet moratorium.

In the **South Atlantic,** after the war over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) during which Britain dispatched nuclear-armed navy ships into these waters, Latin American countries advanced the idea of turning the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean into a nuclear-free zone. Concrete proposals to this end were advanced by President José Sarney Costa of Brazil in September 1986, soon after the prolongation of the Soviet moratorium. Was this a chance coincidence? But let us not conjecture.

What is not a matter of chance is the qualitative change in the struggle to

remove the nuclear threat to be observed simultaneously in widely different regions of the Third World. This struggle is entering a new phase, extending to sections of the population that formerly stood aloof from it, and is becoming official policy in more and more countries that only recently were not greatly concerned over the nuclear problem but took something of a fatalistic view of it.

The Soviet moratorium helps to create an atmosphere conducive to heavier pressure on the governments of the U.S. and other countries that insist on continuing testing nuclear weapons. At the same time it has become more obvious than ever that the termination of tests by all countries is not the end in itself, but a turning point. The ending of tests would block the qualitative modernization of nuclear weapons, and, consequently, help to open the way to their quantitative reduction all the way to complete elimination. The programme for the stage-by-stage removal of this threat by the end of the century which the Soviet Union advanced early this year is seen in the Third World, alongside the moratorium, as an increasingly realistic objective. This is not surprising, considering that the first step towards it has been taken—a practical step, though still unilateral.

Thus, the Soviet peace moves have helped not only to activate, but also to concretize the anti-nuclear policy of a number of developing countries and of the non-aligned movement as a whole. It was natural for the Harare meeting to support, besides the moratorium, also the Soviet Union's stage-by-stage programme for the total elimination of nuclear armaments. Moreover, this was support backed by actions. To the more vigorous efforts of the newly independent countries towards the creation of nuclear-free zones must be added their unofficial but nevertheless weighty demarches to the U.S. and other nuclear powers that have refused to put an end to nuclear explosions. Not confining themselves to mere exhortations, four developing countries together with the other members of the Delhi Six offer practical assistance in the creation of a mechanism for verification of the observance first of a moratorium and then of an urgently needed agreement on the total prohibition of nuclear tests.

Despite Outside Prompting

A great deal of effort has been invested in diverting the newly independent peoples away from the fight for peace, in persuading them that this fight is the concern of the "rich North," and not of the "poor South," which has other things to worry about. And not always has this kind of prompting gone unheeded. The present writer heard some Arab leaders say that the idea of disarmament and détente is hardly compatible with the dictates of resistance to the Israeli aggression. Reactionary propaganda speculation on the sharpening of regional conflicts, on the traditional xenophobia in some countries, on religious strife and even on biblical prophecies of the end of the world—all these devices are used, no holds are barred in order to justify, as the American Professor Andrew Lang writes, "cold-war ideology and the arms buildup."

This ideology, if it can be called that, is exported to the developing world in a form designed to appeal to the peoples: under the labels of "neutrality" in questions of war and peace and "equidistance" from imperialism and socialism. Hopes of the "South" surviving a nuclear war between powers of the "North" are cultivated. And until recently the openly anti-humane and essentially racist theory was propounded that for the African, Asian and Latin American peoples nuclear war could be not at all disastrous, but even useful: something altogether new could be built on the ruins. Pol Pot showed in Kampuchea what is meant by this.

Year after year the realities of life have swept away and buried such figments of the imagination hostile to the real interests of the peoples that have won their freedom from colonialism. Few today even remember them. But what all remember is that the founding fathers of the non-aligned movement, primarily Jawaharlal Nehru, called for struggle against the nuclear threat. Firmly embodied in the political experience of the peoples is the fact that it was precisely in the years of détente, after the first steps were taken to dispel the nuclear threat—recall the partial test ban treaty and the signing of the SALT-2 treaty—some significant successes were scored in the liberation struggle: the victories of heroic Vietnam and the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, the anti-imperialist popular revolutions in Ethiopia and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the pro-imperialist monarchy in Iran.

What the Deployment of Bases Means

Washington's strategy is far more eloquent than its insidious propaganda. It speaks for itself. Let us take a look on the map at the deployment of U.S. military bases: most of them form a chain encircling the globe. Nuclear weapons are stored at many of them: these weapons are at the disposal of the 40,000-strong U.S. expeditionary corps in South Korea, the Pentagon bases in the Philippines and the island fortress of Diego Garcia. Seventy per cent of the ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, which constantly cruises off the entire eastern and southern coasts of Asia, carry nuclear warheads. The U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, which has the North African countries constantly in its gunsights, is similarly armed. The radius of action of the U.S. nuclear cruise missiles deployed in Sicily extends to a large part of Africa and also to Western Asia, all the way to the Persian Gulf. Last year the London Sunday Telegraph reported that the U.S. was planning to set up a base for nuclear submarines not far from the southern tip of the African continent, on the tiny British island of Ascension in mid-Atlantic. The distance from here to Latin America is roughly the same as to Africa. The island was used by the British during the Falklands war. As regards the Falklands themselves, the construction of a military base there is in full swing and there is ample evidence that the Pentagon proposes to use that base in giving effect to its nuclear strategy.

There is no doubt that all these preparations are being carried out with an eye to a global conflict, with a view primarily to confrontation with the socialist countries. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that there is also another target: the developing countries. It is rather frankly admitted at times that the design is to hold them in neocolonialist captivity by all possible means, the most brutal included. A whole concept has been built on this score—the concept of "defence of the flanks" of the West. Margaret Thatcher spoke of this threat to the flanks of the Western alliance in her address to the U.S. Congress in February 1985, suggesting that subversion stemmed from the midst of the enslaved and the hungry. And U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger translated this into a more concrete language. Not only the Soviet Union presented a threat to world stability and the interests of the United States, he held forth, pointing to twenty countries in eleven regions of the world, most of which, he said, had a direct bearing on the interests of many countries, including the U.S., or possessed resources important for them. This may not mean that the Pentagon is ready to brandish the nuclear bomb in order to gain possession of a mine somewhere in the jungles or an oil field in the midst of a desert. But what is not an assumption, but a fact is this: since Hiroshima and Nagasaki at least on four occasions the White House has seriously considered resorting to nuclear weapons again. This was revealed by such an informed source as former president Richard Nixon. Moreover, he was speaking of situations which now have come to be called "regional conflicts."

But suppose Washington had not resisted the temptation. And the temptation is the harder to resist the more sophisticated, or, to be more exact, the more mobile the nuclear devices. Today there already are such devices that easily fit into a valise any soldier can carry. According to Western press reports, such valises weighing 25 kilogrammes each were delivered not less than a year ago to U.S. bases in the Philippines. Considering that scientific research goes on and nuclear tests are continuing in the U.S., the danger of regional conflicts in the Third World developing into a nuclear world war is very real.

All the more so since there are quarters which in certain circumstances would not be averse to taking the risk. Is it not their sentiment that is expressed by NATO Supreme Commander General Bernard Rogers who finds it

necessary to repeat again and again that if a new world war broke out it would most likely start not in Europe but as a result of confrontation coming to a head in some other region, Southwest Asia, for instance? At any rate this vast and densely populated region, along with some others (the Far East, for instance), is classified, like Europe, as a potential "theatre of hostilities" in Pentagon documents. What the consequences could be for the peoples inhabiting these areas is self-evident. "Should a third world war flare up," the prominent physicist Professor Osmund Jayaratne of Colombo University said, welcoming the prolongation of the Soviet moratorium on behalf of the scientists of Sri Lanka, "it would not be confined only in major countries like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Germany, etc. If 2 per cent of the nuclear bombs stockpiled in the world presently are exploded, it would blow up the entire globe."

Whose Thinking Is Up-to-Date

In face of the danger a new thinking dictated by the realities of the nuclear age is asserting itself in the developing world as well. It is becoming increasingly obvious to the peoples that the nuclear arms buildup not only drains resources needed to do away with backwardness and poverty. Even more tragic and paradoxical is it that a big part of the funds spent on the arms buildup is extracted by the U.S. and its partners from the developing countries. As was pointed out at the Harare conference, the West pumped out of these countries $104 billion in 1980-85 by means of non-equivalent trade, and another $120 billion by jacking up interest rates.

Against this background the link between the fight for peace and the liberation struggle is particularly strikingly manifest. And Washington confirms this interconnection by its own actions, demonstrating that tension benefits only the imperialist quarters that are out to suppress by force the rights of individuals, social strata and entire nations. Behind Pinochet and the South African racists stand the American militaristic forces bent on arming themselves with ever more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, and on deploying them even in outer space, in order to hold the whole planet under the threat of annihilation. And not least of all have they laid their sights on the vast Third World, which they regard only as an object of constant, unending exploitation.

This explains why the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests has found such a wide response in the developing countries. This initiative fell on a soil prepared by life itself, by the march of events.

More and more people and countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are beginning to take concrete political action to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe. ■

Trade Unions: New Frontiers

The 11th World Trade Union Congress ended on Monday, September 22. It was the most representative forum ever in the history of the trade union movement. Labour representatives from all over the world revealed unprecedentedly clear-cut political views. The seven-day discussion was characterized by an urgent need for the trade unions to advance to new frontiers of the struggle for peace because it is only in conditions of peace that the working people can successfully uphold their rights and build up a life worthy of man.

"The continued and ever more intense arms race suits only those who make fat profits from the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction," Ibrahim Zakaria, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, stressed in his report. "Therefore we must do our utmost to stop these profiteers who ignore the threat to mankind's security and the catastrophic damage being done to the world economy by the arms race, with all the harsh social consequences that ensue."

As they dwelt on the trade unions' objectives in the fight for peace, the congress delegates pointed out one after the other that the Soviet Union's constructive, open and purposeful policy on the international arena provided a powerful stimulus to this fight.

"We are deeply gratified by the fact," said Harry Tisch, Chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (G.D.R.), "that the Soviet Union has demonstrated its good will by again prolonging its unilateral moratorium."

The congress participants unanimously called on the forces of reason and good will to coordinate their actions, and mobilize the international community to the fight to eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust. This call amounted to a platform common to all sections of the international trade union movement, and to labour organizations with widely differing goals, methods and shades of ideological opinion. It was not fortuitous that the first document to be approved by the congress was a message in support of constructive steps to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, addressed to the Soviet and American leaders and the U.N. Secretary-General.

As already mentioned in our earlier report, about two thirds of the participants represented trade unions not affiliated to WFTU. However, they too emphasized from the congress platform the responsibility of the working class and all working people to safeguard peace. This led many observers to the conclusion that the world anti-war movement is entering an entirely new stage now that the working people are determined to march in its vanguard.

We interviewed many participants in the congress in the lobby of the Palace of the Republic where it was held. Here is what they told us.

Helio de Mello, Chairman, National Municipal Services Union, Brazil:

Latin America was not immediately involved in either of the two world wars. But we realize fully that a third world war, if it ever breaks out, would spare no country, ours included. While bringing fabulous dividends to the monopolies, those in the U.S. in particular, the current arms race spells monstrous poverty for Brazilians. Against their will, Brazil and many other countries, ruthlessly and arrogantly exploited by the transnational corporations, are paying for the U.S. nuclear arms buildup. Disarmament and a new economic order are the top priorities of the international trade union movement today.

Jan Nemoudry, Secretary, World Federation of Trade Unions:

The congress discussed the specific problems of our struggle, and worked out its strategy and tactics for the next few years. It has reminded the working people of the indisputable truth that today no one can stand aloof from the fight for peace. This fight can be won only by bringing ever greater pressure to bear on those who would like to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust. The working class and all those living by the fruit of their labour have a decisive part to play in this fight. Significantly, the congress has attracted representatives from trade unions not affiliated with its sponsor, WFTU, who have nevertheless proved to share our views on the anti-nuclear movement; this is a unique phenomenon.

Alain Covet, Secretary-General, Trade Unions International of Chemical, Oil and Allied Workers:

Chemical industry workers in dozens of countries whose trade unions are affiliated with our International are gravely concerned about the threat of chemical war. Chemistry does not only mean fertilizers and plastics. Chemistry also means explosives and nuclear missile propellents. Pesticides and insecticides can kill not only rats and Colorado beetles but humans as well.

After the Seveso chemical plant accident in Italy it transpired that the defoliants had been ordered not by farmers but by the Bundeswehr and the British army. We support the Soviet proposal to get rid of chemical weapons.

Chaturanan Mishra, MP, President, All-India Trade Union Congress:

Soviet peace bids have met with wide support in Indian political quarters and from public opinion. Our country's trade union organizations have held a national meeting and adopted the declaration "For Peace and Disarmament." We are certain that the attainment of Asian and Pacific security would go a long way towards safeguarding universal peace and the solution of many social and economic problems. Our congress has demonstrated the effective solidarity of the world's working-class movement with the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

Maksuda Salikhova, a type-setter from the Tashkent Printing and Publishing Amalgamation, voluntary secretary of the Cultural Workers' Trade Union Committee, Uzbekistan, U.S.S.R.:

The Soviet delegation to the congress instructed me to sit on its trade union rights commission. I was hesitant at first but later realized that I had plenty to tell the commission about. After all, our trade unions have all the rights necessary to protect the interests of the working people. The commission did a great deal of useful work. Although we discussed daily trade union matters at the commission's sessions, the words "peace," "disarmament" and "moratorium" sounded all the time. My colleagues from various countries told me that the foreign policy line proclaimed by the 27th CPSU Congress made an enormous impression on them.

John McCarthy, Assistant Secretary, New Zealand Printing and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers:

Our trade unions are not affiliated to WFTU. We are in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions where the American AFL-CIO plays the dominant role. Nevertheless, we accepted the invitation to attend the Berlin congress because we advocate with increasing vigour the working people's sacred right to peace and to the future. The people of Asia and the Pacific know what the nuclear danger is. We remember Hiroshima and Bikini. The fact that France is continuing its nuclear experiments on Mururoa atoll cannot fail to arouse our concern. This is why New Zealand's trade unions firmly support the movement to free the Pacific region of nuclear weapons, and stop all nuclear tests.

Abdul Azzis Diallo, schoolteacher, Secretary, Amalgamated Democratic Education Workers' Union, Senegal:

As I see it, the working people have no use for the arms race. It gives joy only to those who gain from it—the imperialists. But who makes these arms? The workers! Who are used as cannon fodder and sent to their deaths? Workers and peasants! It would seem that my country is far from the centres of global decision making, that world developments do not concern us. I don't think so. We must raise our children, feed them, teach them kindness and reason. Instead, we face the prospect of perishing in a nuclear war. Incidentally, our much-suffering Africa could have beaten the appalling draught, given everyone enough to eat and taught everyone to read and write had a mere fraction of the money spent on preparations for war been allocated to our economic development and the solution of our social problems. This is something worth working for.

Deborah Albano, editor of the American trade union paper Labour Today:

In the United States social welfare programmes are being slashed, and unemployment has reached catastrophic proportions for millions of people, for the entire U.S. population. We are becoming increasingly aware of the direct connection between the rise in military spending and the deteriorating quality of working people's lives. A vigorous fight for peace must be high on both the trade union and general democratic movements' list of priorities.

Bouhabib Adib, Secretary, General Confederation of Lebanese Factory and Office Workers:

Although trade unions should not divert their attention from working people's day-to-day social and economic problems, we have no right to forget for a moment that the anti-war movement is the front line of the antagonism between labour and capital. We must mount a resolute, bold and strategically well-thought-out offensive all along this front line—and win through. The efficacy of our struggle in the social sphere and of our opposition to imperialist intervention in various parts of the world depends on our doing so. I think of courageous Nicaragua, whose leader, Daniel Ortega, was greeted by our congress with the immortal slogan "No Pasaran!", of the brutal system of apartheid and, of course, of Lebanon, my Lebanon where blood is being shed to this day.

* * *

The congress has shown that the trade unions' anti-war effort is making an increasingly significant contribution to the fight against the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The main document it has adopted says: "We must promote unity and cooperation so that the international trade union movement, WFTU included, can make a more effective contribution to the formation of a world that conforms to the ideals of the working people, provide conditions for the use of science and technology for the benefit of human progress rather than for war and destruction, create every prerequisite for the development of the individual, and offer effective solutions to the enormous problems of poverty, inequality and exploitation." This is not empty rhetoric. The congress marked a major advance in the struggle for peace and progress.

L. YELISEYEV and V. TSOPPI
our special correspondents

Berlin

Some of the delegates to the 11th World Trade Union Congress, representing over 400 labour organizations from 154 countries, during recess.

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THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

For the First Time in Europe

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has ended its first stage in Stockholm. Nearly three years of strenuous efforts have not been in vain, as the delegates adopted a final document that seeks to expand the area of mutual understanding and turn Europe into a continent of lasting peace and cooperation. By pooling efforts, the participating states bridged differences and reached accommodations on a series of crucial issues.

The document endorsed at the Stockholm forum not only concretizes and validates the principle of the non-use of force, but also specifies measures for consolidating confidence and security in Europe. The Helsinki Final Act has now been enhanced in practice through major accords that proceed from the continent's obtaining political and military realities.

The delegates reaffirmed their resolve to refrain from the use of armed force against any other participating state and especially from any incursion or attack on the territory of any such state.

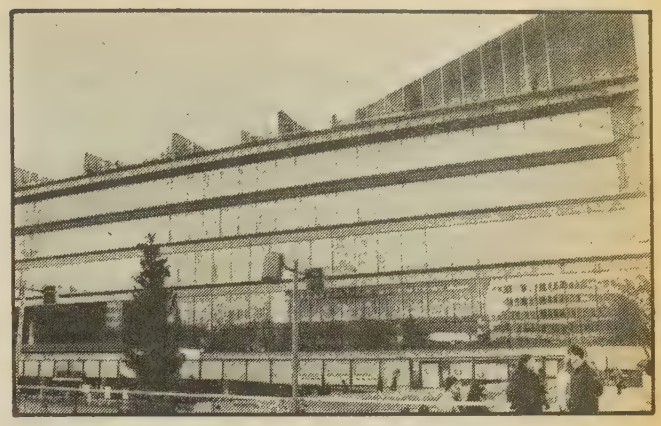
The conference approved a collection of mutually complementary measures to strengthen confidence and security in the military sphere. Their purpose is to reduce the danger of military confrontation and facilitate the solution of the problems involved in disarmament in Europe. These measures, which are politically mandatory, include such issues as notification of military exercises and troop movements, the exchange of annual plans for notifiable military activity, the invitation to such activity of observers, and the restriction of military activity on the continent. These measures are essential to overcome suspicion and reduce the risk of armed conflict. In their way they represent a safeguard against failure to make a correct assessment of the military activity of the other side.

In other words, the political aspects of European security have been complemented by a firm foundation of restraints in the military area, which thus provides additional guarantees for peace and cooperation on the continent.

The Stockholm-endorsed range of confidence and security measures may be broadened and extended to other parts of the world and may thus be incorporated in a comprehensive system of international security.

In line with the accommodations reached, the participating states will annually report the military activity they plan over the coming year by November 15. Should any state find it necessary to engage in additional exercises or troop movements, such exercises must not involve more than 40,000 troops and the number of such exercises must be minimal. As for exercises involving upwards of 75,000 troops (the Soviet Union has not held such major exercises for a long time), the participating states may conduct such exercises only provided they give notification two years in advance. This means the adoption of a fundamentally new confidence measure that seeks to curb military activity in Europe.

May we remind you that the socialist countries have always advocated curbs, proceeding from the premise that, considering their current scale and intensity, major NATO exercises tend to destabilize the situation in Europe. During such exercises armed forces are alerted on a continental scale, administrative bodies up to the highest echelon are regeared to wartime operation, and troops, aircraft and naval forces are deployed at action stations. Understandably, such exercises are at times hard to distinguish from troop deployment prior to starting hostilities. They raise grave apprehensions and generate tension. Though there is still a long way to go before a radical reduction of military activity in Europe is achieved, the agreement reached represents an initial major step in that direction.



National flags no longer fly from the mastheads on the building where the Stockholm conference met. Its first phase was a resounding success.

TASS photo

In Stockholm the socialist countries constantly stressed the other side of the problem. The movement and airlifting of troops and aircraft from other regions and continents represents a grave source of apprehensions, suspicion and mistrust, as they encompass a broad spectrum of military activity and are accompanied by major undertakings to mobilize manpower and material resources. Consequently, vital significance attaches to the accommodation reached that each state will not only notify the other conference participants of troop movements, but will also agree to verifiable control, including on-site inspection. Moreover, this will be done the moment the troops airlifted begin to move to the area of the exercises or join with other contingents. This means, more specifically, analysts note, that for the first time in European history the U.S. will give notification of its troops airlifted to the continent for participation in military activities.

Incidentally, there is every ground to term all the other Stockholm accommodations "firsts" as well. Especially significant is the decision taken to have adherence to confidence measures ensured by effective and adequate forms of verification, including on-site inspection. Such inspection is to be undertaken, at the request of other participating states, not more than three times a year. Reliable control is extremely important for every stage of the process of consolidating confidence, security, and disarmament. However, it is understood that control per se will not ensure the attainment of these objectives. Verification, inclusive of on-site inspection, merely serves to monitor observance of the accommodations reached.

The results of the Stockholm conference's first phase are still to receive in-depth analysis and discussion. Not all the issues, on which the creation of firm foundations for confidence and security in Europe depends, have been resolved. One of these is that of notification of autonomous military activity on the part of air or naval forces as the strike components of armed forces. Yet the experience gained in Stockholm demonstrates once again that

states with different social systems not only can but must cooperate so that mankind may live in peace. For the first time in many years, local commentators indicate, West and East have formulated a document bearing upon crucial issues, including problems in the military sphere. This was attained thanks to the consistent efforts of the socialist countries, the neutral and non-aligned states and all conference participants, who displayed political realism and responsibility. They overcame many difficulties by resorting to compromise decisions based on a mutually acceptable balance of the interests of all participating countries.

The accommodations, due to come into force on January 1, 1987, are forward-looking. The results of the forum, Special Envoy Oleg Grinevsky, the chief Soviet delegate, said at the concluding plenary meeting, create a favourable foundation for advancing towards the phased implementation of further effective concrete measures to promote and envigorate the whole all-European process initiated in the Finnish capital some 10 years ago. They are also significant for the Vienna meetings of the representatives of the participating states of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and an earnest that the conference's second phase, which is to discuss aspects of disarmament in Europe, will get off to a successful start.

In the foyer of the conference's main assembly hall I asked the chief delegates of three participating countries how they saw the conference's results.

The U.S. chief delegate Robert Barry said he thought the conference had produced positive results which all could be proud of. From their point of view, by which he meant that of NATO, he continued, the most significant result is the accommodation reached on verification and on-site inspection. The chief U.S. delegate said he thought all the accommodations would be duly implemented—he said he was sure this was possible—and would thus serve to carry forward the Helsinki process. Stockholm's results show the desire of all countries to achieve mutually acceptable compromises.

The chief Swedish delegate Kurt Lidgard said they were happy that positive results had been achieved and that they believed this paved the way for disarmament agreements at other forums, as, for example, the negotiations in Geneva. He said the most positive result was the increased understanding, mutual respect and the better prospects of continued contacts between all the participating countries. He noted that the conference had signally contributed to the all-European process.

Finally, the chief Polish delegate Wlodzimierz Konarski said that when qualifying the measures drafted, he would note, firstly, the very important circumstance that they are politically mandatory, in other words, impose the obligation on all participants without exception to equal observance of the accommodations reached; that, secondly, they embrace the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals, in short the whole continent of Europe in the geographical sense, and, thirdly, that they are all mutually complementary. Finally, he noted, they are based on the principle of the non-use of force which has been concretized and validated. On the whole, it was worth observing, he said, that Stockholm had laid the foundations for a new system of confidence in Europe. On the agenda now, he added, is the need to go over to the disarmament stage, since confidence measures as such did not make for disarmament, or for the abolition of nuclear weapons which today pose the basic threat to humanity. The results achieved in Stockholm, he concluded, pave the way for disarmament in Europe and it is possible on this basis to erect a new edifice of European security.

N. VUKOLOV
TASS correspondent
exclusive for New Times
Stockholm

U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.

A Serious Summit Is Essential

"In our view what I would term normal diplomatic activity has taken place here in Washington in almost all the most important areas, especially where security measures are concerned. In a sense, this activity lays the foundation for a productive summit. In this respect we are indeed going forward." Such was Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's summing up of his Washington meetings. As well as having four rounds of talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed to U.S. President Ronald Reagan a personal message from CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

"There are deep differences between us," the Soviet Foreign Minister said at his news conference. "They have been there and they remain. However, the talks also showed that on some matters, the very important matters of security, certain prospects are emerging for the reaching of agreement. It is our conviction," he stressed, "and I think that by now the Americans also realize this, that we do not need a summit to no purpose. We must prepare for a serious summit that will have serious results."

The Soviet Foreign Minister reminded his audience that since the Geneva summit last November the U.S.S.R. had undertaken a series of major political initiatives, which could immediately bring the two sides to implement practical measures in nuclear disarmament. The Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions had been extended time and again and a complex of measures had been proposed to put the principle of parity in security at drastically reduced levels of military confrontation into effect. The U.S.S.R. had advocated reliable control over every agreement in the area of security, including supranational control and on-site inspection.

Yet, the Soviet Foreign Minister observed, much had been done over the past few weeks to break off the Soviet-American dialogue. "It was evidently thought that emotion would move us not to come to Washington. But we came, although it was no easy decision to make. We made that decision, motivated by a high sense of responsibility and an awareness of political priorities. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are too important for our peoples, and for the destinies of peace and mankind. One does not have to be very clever to destroy; to create, however, one has to show determination, intelligence, and fortitude."

Eduard Shevardnadze said they had been obliged to draw the U.S. Administration's attention to the inadmissibility of artificially inflaming the atmosphere in mutual relations. It was a good thing, he said, that common sense had prevailed and that it had been understood that the language of pressure and ultimatum was unsuited to these relations.

By our staff

U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.

The Dialogue Is Not Over

● **ON-THE-SPOT REPORT**

"We are for a world without arms, for a world of confidence and cooperation" was

the slogan with which the Latvian town of Jurmala greeted 250 American tourists and nearly 30 members of the U.S. official delegation. The guests included Jack Matlock, a special assistant to the U.S. President, Strobe Talbott, a leading politologist and military expert, Frederick Starr, President of Oberlin College, other representatives of the Administration, journalists and scientists. Their Soviet partners in the discussion were top-ranking officials from the foreign and defence ministries, staff members at the leading research institutes specializing in world politics, and journalists. The first such meeting, described by the Americans as an experiment in civil diplomacy, had taken place a year ago in Chautauqua, a small town in the southwest of New York State. The second conference of the representatives of the two countries' public opinion was held in the Dzintari open-air concert hall from September 15 to 19. Speakers for the Soviet and American official delegations took turns to address it. What made the conference unusual was that its numerous "rank-and-file" participants were able to compare viewpoints (which were often poles apart), ask any questions, voice their own opinions on bilateral Soviet-American relations, and suggest ways of ending the nuclear arms race and dealing with the explosive situations in various parts of the world.

The conference offered all those concerned a chance to learn the Soviet views on many topical problems at first hand. Vladimir Petrovsky, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, introduced them to the U.S.S.R.'s stand on a number of key issues in world politics. At present, he pointed out, Soviet-American relations cannot be regarded as satisfactory; they have an effect on the overall world situation. It is necessary to put an early end to the protracted period of tension. After all, the nuclear threat hanging over the world is our common enemy.

Colonel General Nikolai Chervov pointed out that the world had stockpiled enough weapons to destroy not only mankind but all life. Nevertheless, the arms race continues and is being extended to outer space. This process must be stopped, the Soviet general said, because the only alternative to coexistence is nonexistence.

It obviously came as a surprise to some of the Americans present that the Soviet Union had taken practical steps towards disarmament by unilateratelly discontinuing the deployment of missiles in Europe, withdrawing some of its SS-20 missiles, and once again extending its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

As the Americans asked questions they received a great deal of information about their own country which was new to them. They learned, for instance, that the U.S. Administration regularly denied entry visas to foreign trade union delegations, and that American immigration rules provided for keeping any communist sympathizer out of the country. Simultaneous interpreting enabled all the participants to assess the situation independently. Here is an example of dialogue with the audience. Somebody asked about the prospects of chemical weapons being eliminated.

An American representative replied that Moscow did not respond to suggestions in this sphere.

A Soviet representative said that the U.S.S.R. had offered a specific programme to eliminate chemical weapons. The whole issue turned on verification. The U.S. demanded control over the entire Soviet chemical industry while refusing to submit 60 per cent of theirs (in the private sector) to Soviet inspection.

The American representative: What I meant was that no information on chemical arms production is published in the U.S.S.R.

Incidentally, many members of the American delegation who represented official Washington tried to back out of a discussion when they had nothing of substance to say. Some U.S. speakers missed no chance of presenting the Soviet Union as the root of all evil on earth. Some even extolled the "nobility" of the American expeditionary corps which committed outrages in Vladivostok and Archangel after the revolution. At the same time they tried to convince the audience that the A-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had saved many Japanese, Soviet and American soldiers' lives, and that the war of extermination against the Vietnamese people was a "mission of liberation."

Even in its main report the American delegation ignored the most pressing problem of today—disarmament.

True, some of the American speakers held out bright prospects to the conference. Mark Palmer, the U.S. Ambassador to Hungary, for example, painted a futurological picture of the year 2000. He said that the Soviet Union and America worked together in many fields ranging from geological surveying to space exploration, that their joint efforts had resulted in a dramatic fall in the incidence of cancer and cardiovascular diseases, that restaurants serving borshch, caviar and rye bread were a great success in the U.S., and that signs of McDonald and Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants could be seen in Soviet cities.

Well, all this is not the future but the recent past in our relations: the Soyuz-Apollo space mission; joint oncological research (an abrupt termination of which in the early eighties by the Americans was mentioned by Academician Nikolai Blokhin, the head of the Soviet delegation in Jurmala, with regret); the Goodwill Games from which American boxers were barred by Defence Secretary Weinberger.

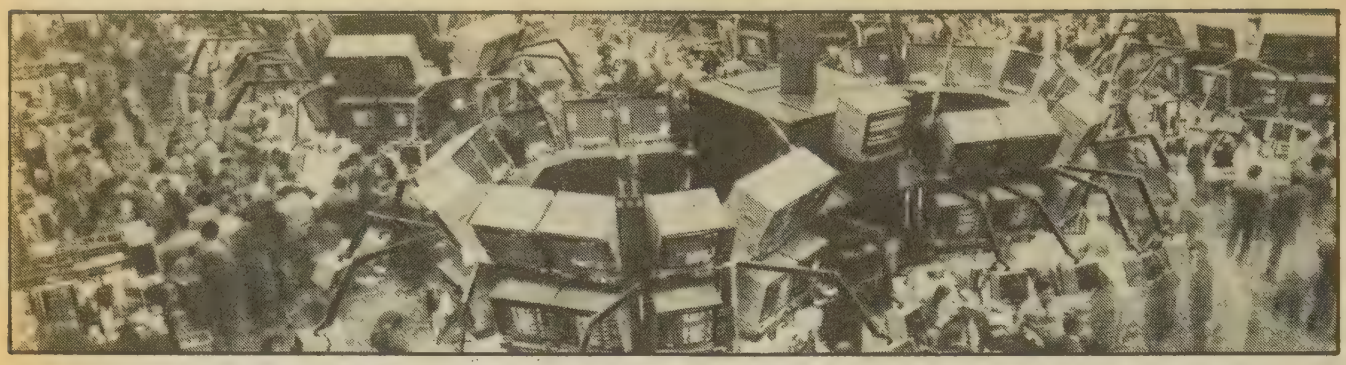
What does it take to improve Soviet-American relations? The answer to this question was given, without any undue diplomatic ceremony, by Ben Wattenberg, editor of the magazine Public Opinion and a member of the board of the Free Europe radio station. We can get along fine, he said, if the Soviet system undergoes changes. One couldn't put it more clearly: if you want to win America's friendship you must give up your principles and your way of life.

If the sentiments of the American and Soviet public are to be judged by the reaction of the audience, the dead silence which followed Wattenberg's "ultimatum" was most indicative.

Before the closing of the conference, an improvised public opinion poll was held (such polls are very popular with the Americans). The members of the American group were asked whether their idea of the U.S.S.R. had changed for the worse or for the better after a five-day stay in Jurmala. Two or three of them replied they were disappointed, and about twenty said that what they saw surpassed their expectations. If such a proportion persists, the truth and trust will find their way to the minds and hearts of ever more Americans.

A. ARKHIPOV
our special correspondent

Jurmala—Moscow



Bulls or Bears? No, Hawks

FELIX GORYUNOV

Do stock exchange fevers reflect the real situation in the economy, or are they just speculative bursts? How do the equity markets influence business activity? For American economists these are not theoretical but pressing practical questions.

It is considered all but axiomatic that when the "bulls roar" on the New York stock exchange business activity and corporate profits and dividends are on the upgrade. And, on the contrary, when the "bears cry" stock prices fall, there is a selling spree and economic recession is in the offing. This year things have been different. Thunderheads have been darkening on the U.S. economic horizon month after month, but share prices have been breaking record after record.

True, from time to time there have been thunder claps. The Dow-Jones industrial average dropped on June 7 by 45 points at once—the sharpest fall in one day since the war. Then the market rallied, only to decline a month later, on July 8, by 80 points. For the next two months the "bulls roared" again. On September 4 the computers registered a new record—1,919 points. Then came the biggest fall in equity prices in any one day in the century-long history of Wall Street. The "bears cried" so loud that by September 12 share prices had fallen by 141 points.

Comparing the September crash with the events of October 1929 when the collapse on the New York stock exchange marked the beginning of the Great Depression, some economic commentators have sought to reassure the public by arguing that for a parallel to be drawn between the two, the September drop should have gone down by 240 points, to which it was still quite some distance to go. It was also said that the cause of the crash was not the weakness of the economy but ordinary profit taking—the sale by speculators of corporation stock and other securities the prices of which have in their opinion reached the ceiling. The speculators of course have their own motives; they are concerned not with the state of the economy but quick profits. Most important for them is not to miss the moment when there is a pile to be made. What happened, it is alleged, was not a financial crash capable of sparking off a recession but just an eruption of speculation.

Such assurances of course are soothing to a public not too well versed in how business is done on Wall Street. But experienced financiers were not persuaded. Hence it was not by chance that a wave of sharp drops in share prices swept the leading stock markets of the capitalist world in mid-September. "I have never seen anything like this," the head of a New York brokerage firm observed. "I think money managers panicked."

Not only the investors' nerves began to give. Hugh Sidey, White House correspondent for Time magazine, wrote that "there is a feeling in Washington that we are gathering at the side of the track to watch a gigantic economic train wreck one of these days." Yet it was precisely the White House that a short time ago contended that the U.S. economy was in excellent health, and predicted that the favourable business situation would continue to the end of 1987.

Who, then, is right—the optimists or the pessimists? And in general, can what happened 57 years ago be compared with what is happening today in Wall Street and in the U.S. economy?

Comparisons can be made, but only in terms of far more important indicators than the Dow-Jones index. Moreover, bursts of speculation do not take place in a vacuum; in one way or another they reflect deep-seated processes in the U.S. economy, primarily the cyclical character of its development. The history of industrial capitalism shows that in the course of the two centuries of its existence this in-built feature has remained unchanged. It was the protracted overheating of the economy, as economists call prolonged upswings, and the resultant unprecedented scale of financial speculation that prepared the ground for the stock exchange crash of October 29, 1929. In this respect there is an analogy between it and the economic situation in the U.S. today.

Since the crisis of 1980-82 the American economy has for 45 months now been at the cyclical recovery phase (since the war this phase has rarely exceeded 33 months). This period has seen the accumulation of a great many factors leading to another cyclical slump. It did not occur earlier because since the spring of 1985 the Federal Reserve System has been artificially stimulating business activity by lowering bank credit rates. Observers believe that by interfering with the normal development of the cycle the Reagan Administration increased the likelihood of a "gigantic economic train wreck." For the higher the rise, the bigger the fall.

There is no point in conjecturing as to when the economic train will run off the rails. There is, however, ample evidence that the track has been badly shaken.

According to data for the first seven months of the year, the annual growth rate of the U.S. gross national product was not 3.2 per cent, as the White House predicted in the spring, but less than 2 per cent, and is continuing to decline. Business activity thus has not found its "second wind," even though by September the Federal Reserve System had cut

the cost of bank credits on four occasions. The civilian industries are sustained practically entirely by consumer demand (which accounts for two thirds of the increase in the GNP). However, demand is stimulated not so much by any increase in the actual income of the population as by purchases of goods on credit.

The decline in the income of the population is due primarily to the fact that, although the unemployment level is relatively stable (8 million jobless), layoffs are continuing in the civilian manufacturing industries (inside of six months 280,000 jobs were done away with). It is thanks to this that the industrialists have been able to preserve their high profits (which, incidentally, was one of the reasons for the rise of share prices on the stock market).

"The industrial sector is virtually in a recession," Business Week wrote in early September. "Industrial production peaked in January and it has fallen in five of the past six months. There is not much reason to expect it to improve soon." In mid-year only 78.2 per cent of the production capacities were used. This is the lowest level since the last crisis.

Cutbacks in production, especially by medium-sized and small firms, are given added impetus by the growth of foreign competition. Although the exchange rate of the dollar in relation to other currencies has gone down by 30 per cent in the past 18 months, this has not stimulated industrial production in the U.S. through the expansion of exports. According to the latest forecasts the foreign trade deficit this year will set a new record—$170 billion (in 1985 the figure was $148 billion).

One of the few bright spots in the economic picture, to which the White House is constantly pointing, is the low rate of inflation—2 per cent annually. Wholesale prices of fuel have gone down particularly rapidly: by one quarter as compared with 1985. But even deflation has its reverse side. The reduction of prices has put the extractive and metallurgical industries in a difficult situation. In the oil-producing states of Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma, the unemployment level has gone up to 12 per cent.

The decline in raw material prices also disquiets some economists by the analogy it presents with the Great Depression of the 1930s, when it was this that played a decisive role in the cyclical crisis developing into a protracted depression.

The governors of fifty states at their annual meeting this summer went on record that the economic recession had already begun in 31 states. In the East and West Coast states industry keeps afloat mainly thanks to long-term Pentagon contracts for military hardware.

It is not surprising, then, that in an article published recently in the journal of the New York World Policy Institute economist Ann Markusen pointed out that the imbalance of industrial development in various parts of the country and the decline in the traditional manufacturing industries is the result of the Pentagon's "closet industrial policy." The government engages in macro-economic stimulation of war production to the detriment of the civilian branches, and finances it by increasing the federal budget deficit. This unstated policy is the main reason for the low competitive capacity of the U.S. engineering industry, the deterioration of the employment structure and the weakening of the United States' foreign trade positions.

As we can see, there is ample evidence that another economic recession will set in within the next few months, if it is not already here. And it will take place in an international economic, monetary and financial situation which holds out gloomy prospects for the leading Western country, whose positions in world capitalist economy have been undermined as it is.

The U.S. has already turned from a creditor country into the biggest debtor in the world. According to official figures, released by the Department of Commerce, at the end of 1985 the U.S. capital investments abroad amounted to $952 billion, and net export of capital, to $32.5 billion. On the other hand, foreign investments in the U.S. exceeded the trillion dollar mark, and the net inflow of foreign capital that same year reached $127 billion.

The low level of internal accumulation of capital in the eighties has already sharply increased the dependence of the American money market on foreign investors. The lowering of interest rates on bank deposits and the decline of the exchange rate of the dollar will make it considerably more difficult than in past years to attract financial resources from other countries to stimulate business activity in the U.S. and cover the federal budget deficit.

For the developing countries, many of which are burdened with huge external debts, recession in the U.S. economy will mean a reduction in their earnings from exports to the United States. This is fraught with a further aggravation of the international debt crisis. Many Western economists fear, and with good reason, that in an effort to cope with its unprecedented foreign trade deficit, Washington might have recourse to strict protectionist measures that could result in a decline in the international capitalist trade.

Adverse though the impact of the above domestic and external factors is on the U.S. economy, the main threat hanging over it is the acute crisis of government finances. In August Congress had to raise the ceiling for the permissible federal debt to $2.3 trillion. Interest alone on this sum runs to nearly $200 billion this year. However, the deficits that continually add to the debt are not diminishing, but growing. In the fiscal year ending on September 30 the deficit will set a new record—nearly $230 billion.

Few in the U.S. any longer doubt that the main reason for the chronic deficits is the inordinate military spending. It is also obvious that the Reagan Administration will not allow them to be substantially reduced. "There is no reason," James Miller, director of the Office of Management and Budget, told a Washington Post reporter in August, "that the savings have to come out of the hide of defence, and I can just say categorically we would not accept that."

As the case has been during previous crises, a "bearish" business situation does not affect the arms merchants. Under all circumstances, whatever the ups and downs of the Dow-Jones index, the stock of the leading Pentagon contractors, as distinct from that of corporations in the civilian industries, has steadily gone up since the beginning of the eighties. It is not by chance that the first to recover after the stock market slump was the stock of the computer giant International Business Machines, of General Electric and other corporations turning out so-called high technology, primarily for military purposes. The stock market dealers know full well that so long as the White House adheres to its position-of-strength policy and the Pentagon determines industrial policy, the military sector remains the most reliable and profitable sphere for the investment of capital.

Thus, the answer to the question as to who makes the weather today on Wall Street and in the U.S. economy is obvious: neither the "bulls" nor the "bears," but the Washington hawks. ■

OF KNIGHTS AND FROGMEN

It is not true that there are no knights errant in the U.S. today. They exist, and they are pink. In inverted commas, admittedly, as are the Frogmen and the Associates. But whereas the Pink Knights and the Frogmen simply rob and kill, the Associates kill "for the sake of an idea." All, however, are survivors of the Saigon puppet regime.

The Pentagon's yesmen in Vietnam took refuge across the ocean when Saigon fell. The exodus was captained by the Saigon regime's eccentric "air vice-marshal" and "vice-president" Nguyen Cao Ky, drug king and ardent admirer of Hitler. Two groups of gunmen emerged from the survivors of the Saigon regime. Well trained by U.S. instructors in Vietnam, these gangsters give the U.S. police plenty of trouble. An FBI spokesman deplored: "The Asian gangs are highly violent, well armed, and predisposed to open fire on law enforcement personnel in arrest situations."

The Associates, South Vietnamese ex-officers, most brutally victimize Vietnamese emigrants who advocate normal relations between the U.S. and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The U.S. news media liken their murderous terrorizing to the treatment of left-wingers by "death squads" in Latin America.

It has now transpired that the Associates have linked up with the Gusanos, the Cuban riffraff settled in the U.S. The FBI is having to go to considerable expense since it is no easy task to hunt out their secret joint military training camps, as in Vietnam the gangsters were trained in undercover operations as well.

● CUSTOMS

ONION FAIRS

It's a very special day in the year for all who live in Berne and its neighbourhood. At daybreak, while the city sleeps, awnings are hoisted in the squares, streets and lanes, stalls are set up and spread with farm products. Der Zwiebelmarkt, the Onion Fair, opens as soon as the first customers arrive. For a while business in the city ceases to function, the police are friendly and courteous, and hats and pavements are splashed with confetti and paper streamers. The hero is the ordinary onion.

The fair has plenty to show not only in connection with onions, but also by way of handicrafts. Mirth-provoking competitions are held. Several years ago a youthful cook set a "world record," slicing 17 kilograms 746 grams of onions in the space of an hour without shedding a single tear.

As legend has it, the origins of this folk festival go back to the early 15th century when young farmers from the neighbouring town of Freiburg came to rebuild fire-devastated Berne. The grateful city fathers allowed them to hold an annual fair in Berne, at which to sell their onions.

The G.D.R. also has an onion fair—Der Zwiebelmarkt in Weimar. Goethe, who lived in the city, must have loved the event, as on the opening day he would festoon his windows and desk with garlands of onions.

MISCELLANY

● The agenda of a meeting to take place late in September between President Daniel Ortega and Cardinal Miguel Obando-y-Bravo, Archbishop of Managua, who has repeatedly spoken out against the Nicaraguan government, was discussed in Managua by a commission made up of representatives of the revolutionary government and the country's Catholic hierarchy.

● U.S.-born Margarita Papandreou, wife of the Greek Premier, has urged women round the world to take part in an international signature campaign to petition for a productive Soviet-American summit. The campaign has met with the approbation of 150 prominent women and organizations in the U.S.

● This summer Ariel Sharon, Israel's former Defence Minister and present Minister of Industry and Trade, visited Istanbul under an alias to attend a relative's wedding. According to the local newspaper, Hiirrijet, the Turkish authorities did their best to keep his presence secret.

● At their annual conference in the Golden Temple of Amritsar in Punjab the separatist All-India Sikh Students' Federation passed a resolution commending the killers of General Wadia, the former Indian Army Chief-of-Staff.

● HEALTH

AIDS

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the incidence of AIDS doubles in Western Europe every eight months. WHO officials say that though the disease is developing into a real epidemic on the continent, so far no effective treatment has been found.

AIDS is spreading like wildfire in Central Africa too, with millions afflicted. The first AIDS cases were recorded in a Ugandan village in 1983.

U.S. doctors say they have developed a remedy against AIDS which, however, does not bring about a complete cure. One side effect is anaemia.

● "EDUCATION"

Africa is in North America; the U.S.S.R. is a tiny state near Panama; Atlanta is a sovereign state within the U.S., and Ireland is on the shores of one of the Great Lakes. Such is the notion many American college students have of the world, opinion polls have shown.

Map from Newsweek (U.S.A.)

● LAWLESSNESS

"Let whites keep schools white," reads a poster carried by these scout cubs at a recent Pretoria rally of white extremists. Speakers urged the ruthless suppression of indigenous blacks, claiming white was right. The rally took place at the end of a week during which the army and police killed 21 blacks in Soweto alone.

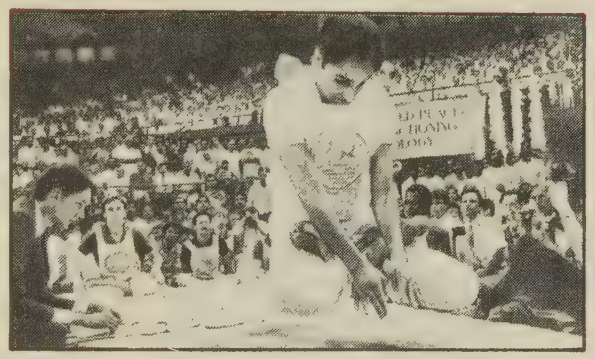
Reuter photo

HANDCUFFS FOR INTERVIEWER

The Stroessner regime is stepping up reprisals against the mass media. For daring to interview peasants about the harsh conditions they live in Radio Caritas reporter Celso Vazquez had his hands pinioned behind his back and was forced to squat-march twelve kilometres to the nearest police station.

● THE SUPERNATURAL

THE FLYING MAHARISHI



In 1959 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, an Allahabad University physics graduate, left India to introduce America to his theory of Trascendental Meditation (TM). He contended that systematic TM combined with the repeated utterance of mantras would bring happiness and good fortune. After TM had been established in the U.S. the guru resolved to extend his benediction to the world.

In 1983, 7,000 of his disciples visited Geneva to engage in TM for three whole weeks. Unfortunately, no fundamental improvement in the international situation ensued. In 1984 he repeated his experiment in the Philippines, promising an "invisible shield" against natural and political troubles alike. However, the mass TM session coincided with the first violent eruption of the volcano Mayon for many years, unprecedented hotel fires in Manila, two earthquakes, and three devastating typhoons.

Maharishi now intends to return to India; several weeks ago he announced that he was transferring his "capital" of Maharishinagar from the Swiss Alps to the outskirts of Delhi. To mark the event, the "first international yogic flying competition" was mounted. Before an audience of 5,000 at a Delhi stadium, six Maharishis took up the classic "lotus position" on the edges of a 50-metre mat. Then, at the tinkle of a bell they hopped like rabbits to the other end. However, none rose more than 20 centimetres in the air. The disgruntled audience were told that this had been a demonstration of "only the first stage of yogic flying in which the participants can only hop." So far, he added, "no one had been able to demonstrate the second stage (floating) and the ultimate stage (flying)."

Still, Maharishi cannot be considered unlucky. The magazine India Today says his sect is a veritable transnational corporation with branches in 110 countries, and adds that so far more than 3 million people have paid to learn the fashionable TM. Though the guru is given to showing that he has no pockets, evidently to prove his unselfishness, his personal estate is estimated at millions of dollars.

Photo from the magazine India Today

● TV BRIEFS

Conservative Republican Pierre duPont of the leading monopoly cartel says he will run for the U.S. presidency.

●

A Philippine court has issued warrants for the arrest of 26 people charged with assassinating Benigno Aquino, husband of current President Corazon Aquino.

●

West Germans, detained while photographing the military airfield near Larissa, have been convicted in Greece.

●

All B-1s, the latest U.S. strategic bombers, have been temporarily grounded because of fuel leakages.

●

In the Bundeswehr war games code-named the Fränkischer Schild, which have begun in the northern parts of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, units of France's First Armoured Division will for the first time be under the command of a West German general.

●

Toyota still dominates the automobile market in South Africa, accounting for 25.5 per cent of sales in August.

●

At a ceremony at which he was decorated with the Order of Merit, H.J. Müller-Borchert, the West German military attaché in Santiago, spoke in support of dictator Pinochet's policies.

●

Egypt's Attorney General Aziz M. al-Gindi has sanctioned the trial of 41 police officers for torturing members of Moslem groupings under arrest.

●

Dan Dlamini, Swaziland's deputy police commissioner, recently appealed to criminals "and others" not to fire at the police as they were not politicians and had no desire or intent to harm the people they were ordered to arrest.

NUREMBERG RETROSPECT

Forty years have passed since the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg pronounced its historic judgement on the major German war criminals. The tribunal, which sat from November 20, 1945, to October 1, 1946, and condemned the most heinous crimes of the nazi regime, has fittingly been called the tribunal of the nations. The anniversary of the handing down of the judgement will be observed worldwide. In Moscow the occasion will be marked next month by an international conference of legal experts, historians and journalists from many countries.

Interviewed by New Times, legal experts and others who took a direct part in one capacity or another in the tremendous work of the tribunal recall the proceedings and the atmosphere that prevailed at the trial.

Our first question we put to the veteran legal expert Mark RAGINSKY, who was assistant to the chief Soviet prosecutor at the Nuremberg trial.

New Times: Could you say something about the difficulties that had to be overcome before and during the trial?

Raginsky: Today, when Nuremberg has become a classic, as it were, of 20th-century jurisprudence, it is hard to believe that in 1945 the need for such a tribunal was understood in far from all the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. More, in the United States and Britain there were political leaders who held that such a trial could well be dispensed with. Precedents were cited. For instance, Napoleon was exiled without trial, and Kaiser Wilhelm II, whom the Versailles conference proposed to try, ended his days quite comfortably in exile in Holland.

New Times: Paradoxically enough, reactionary propaganda is now trying to make it appear as if the Soviet Union was opposed to the setting up of a tribunal. It is alleged that we demanded the summary execution of 50,000 Germans.

Raginsky: Those who make such accusations ought to direct their indignation elsewhere. At the 1943 three-power conference in Moscow the foreign ministers of Britain and the United States sought to persuade the Soviet Union that there was no need for a trial. Similar attempts were made later on as well. Speaking in the House of Commons on October 4, 1944, Winston Churchill said he was not at all certain about the expediency of a trial. And in the U.S. it was proposed to draw up a list of the "arch-criminals" to be shot at once on being taken prisoner.

This view did not gain the upper hand, and not least of all because the U.S.S.R. firmly upheld the idea it had advanced back in 1942 that the war criminals be brought to trial before a "special international tribunal." This idea was reaffirmed in Yalta and Potsdam. Immediately after the war, in June-August 1945, at the London conference of representatives of the U.S.S.R., Britain, the United States and France agreement on the establishment of a tribunal was reached, and its charter and rules adopted. This agreement was joined by 19 other countries, a fact which testified to the importance attached to the coming trial.

New Times: To this day the very status of the Nuremberg Tribunal is being assailed. In a commentary to a recent reprint in the F.R.G. of 23 volumes of Nuremberg records, Professor Zentner contends that Nuremberg was a violation of the principle that crimes not qualified as such by laws existing at the time are not punishable, and laws providing for the prosecution of war criminals did not exist in 1945.

Raginsky: One can only be amazed at such, so to speak, "learned shamelessness." The thesis is as old as the attempts made to whitewash war criminals. In 1945 we answered them by saying: gentlemen, if you wish to be so formal, recall the Geneva Protocol of 1924 which clearly defines aggressive war as an international crime. Or the Kellog-Briand pact which condemned war.

However, those who drafted the charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal proceeded not only from the form but also from the substance of the monstrous crimes of nazism. We would have performed a dubious service had we waited for the various countries to draft laws providing for punishment of the whole range of heinous crimes committed by the aggressors during the war. We did not wait. Proceeding from the operating standards of international law, the London four-power conference worked out the basic principles of the Nuremberg trial, and these principles fully proved their validity.

A highly indicative example of an opposite order is offered by the F.R.G., where the legal standards of 1871 are applied to nazi criminals, with the result, as we know, that thousands of crimes have remained unpunished and trials drag out for years and even decades.

New Times: But there were also purely technical difficulties at Nuremberg, were there not?

Raginsky: Indeed, there were tremendous difficulties. For one thing the quadrilateral tribunal had no precedent in legal history. Dozens of problems had to be solved every day. A common legal procedure had to be worked out. Although the criminal and procedural codes of the four powers differed significantly from one another, agreement was reached, based largely on Anglo-Saxon law. Not much was taken from the Soviet code. One thing that was taken was the defendant's right to make a final statement, which Anglo-Saxon and French laws do not provide for. Incidentally, this is another argument against the revanchist allegation that Nuremberg was "Moscow's doing."

Further, in speaking of the difficulties of the trial it should be borne in mind that in the dock were past masters at demagogy. This complicated things for the prosecution.

Lastly, there was a minimum of time for the preparation of the trial and the work involved was truly colossal. But the spirit of cooperation among the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition in the name of a lofty cause helped to cope with all the difficulties. Perhaps this aspect could best be described by those who were directly involved in this cooperation.

Our next questions were to Igor RAZUMOV, assistant secretary of the Soviet delegation at Nuremberg.

New Times: What was the structure of the tribunal?

Razumov: As you know, the trial was conducted by the representatives of the four powers. This means that all aspects of the tribunal were quadrilateral. There were four judges, each with his deputy. The U.S., British and French members of the court wore the traditional black gowns.

New Times: What did the Soviet judges wear?

Razumov: Major General of Justice Iona Nikitchenko and his deputy Lieutenant Colonel of Justice Alexander Volchkov wore Soviet army uniform. Our prosecuting counsel also wore military uniform or the uniform of the Soviet juridical service.

New Times: How did the court sessions proceed?

Razumov: All told, there were 403 public sessions. There were two sessions daily—the morning session (from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and the evening session (from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.). The volume of work was such that sessions sometimes had to be held on Saturdays and Sundays as well. In some cases the examination of witnesses took several days. In the case of Goering, for instance, it lasted for nine days. Incidentally, according to the Anglo-Saxon procedure adopted, the defendants could testify on their own behalf. The defence counsel made wide use of this.

New Times: Another argument used in the West to assail the Nuremberg Tribunal is that it was a "trial of the vanquished by the victors."

Raginsky: The authors of such arguments are confusing the issue, to say the least. In speaking of the "trial by victors" they insinuate that it was an unfair trial. No one denies that the trial was conducted by the victor countries. Without the victory, to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution, there would have been no trial. But in Nuremberg everything was done to prevent the tribunal from becoming an instrument of sheer revenge. This simply could not happen, considering the whole nature of the trial. It was a true contest between the sides, based on documentary evidence and the testimony of witnesses. The defendants had every right to defend themselves against the charges laid against them.

Razumov: Speaking of documentary evidence: the tribunal itself examined more than 5,000 such documents, and authorized investigators of criminal organizations examined 1,809 pieces of written testimony and six resumés of 196,000 other items of documentary evidence. In the course of the trial more than 30,000 photostat copies were made of documents which played an important role in exposing the defendants. For instance, the Barbarossa plan or Goering's Green Folder.

Raginsky: I repeat, the tribunal was unbiassed. Some of the defendants had two defence counsels each and these were given every opportunity to present documents and summon witnesses, and they took every advantage of this.

Razumov: I can remember one instance when these opportunities boomeranged on the defence counsel. It happened in February 1946. The Soviet prosecutor had submitted the written testimony given by Field Marshal Paulus after he had been taken prisoner by Soviet forces. In an effort to discredit this testimony, which revealed the true character of the aggression against the Soviet Union, the defence counsel rushed "into the fray." They demanded that the witness be brought to Nuremberg implying that the testimony given in Moscow was one thing and in Nuremberg, another. The presiding judge, Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, asked the Soviet counsel for the prosecution, General Zorya, how the Soviet prosecution regarded this demand. The answer was that there were no objections. This was a true bombshell for the defence counsel. Their design was foiled.

Raginsky: Indeed, Paulus' appearance in the courtroom was truly dramatic. His examination, brilliantly conducted by Roman Rudenko, was an important confirmation of the aggressors' guilt.

New Times: Was the whole examination conducted in the courtroom?

Razumov: Not only in the courtroom. For one thing, the tribunal had at its disposal the records of interrogations before the trial, conducted mainly by American investigators. The tribunal had another problem: besides the charges against the defendants, it had to examine the cases of criminal organizations—the nazi government, the nazi party, the Gestapo, the high command, the SA, SS and the general staff. The volume of this work was enormous. Therefore, specially authorized investigators were appointed to deal with these cases. I had the honour to represent the Soviet Union in this capacity. Thus, to the 113 witnesses questioned in the courtroom, another 101 were added.

New Times: How was the testimony recorded?

Razumov: Stenographic and taped records were made of all the court sessions. At the end of each session the interpreters were given the stenographic record of their translations and another in the original language. The texts were first checked with the tape recordings and then against each other. Thus, the final stenographic record was very accurate.

New Times: In what language were the interrogations conducted?

Razumov: In the case of the authorized investigators, in English with a German translation. In the courtroom, however, things were more complicated, and of this the translators themselves can give a better account.

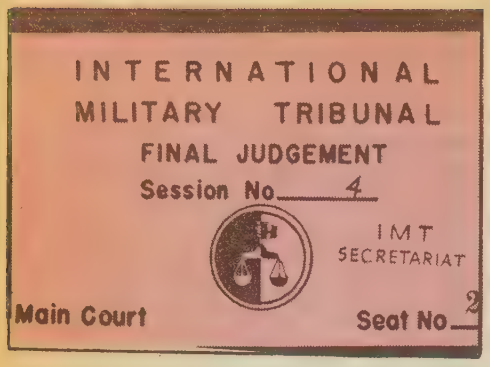
The courtroom, with the judges seated on the right.

Yelizaveta SHCHEMELEVA-STENINA, who was a simultaneous translator at Nuremberg, has the floor.

New Times: As we know from the historical film by Roman Karmen and from numerous photographs, the method of simultaneous translation was used.

Shchemeleva: At international conferences before the war, and also at the League of Nations, the proceedings were translated phrase by phrase or paragraph by paragraph. Naturally, this took a great deal of time. At Nuremberg such a method would have been simply out of the question as it would have dragged out the trial for years.

The interpreters sat directly in the hall (and not in closed booths as at



A pass to the final court hearing.

present), separated only by a glass partition from the dock.

There were four "teams" of interpreters at a time on duty in the courtroom, one for each of the four working languages. Each "team" translated from three languages into its own native language. We worked in shifts of an hour and a half. That seemed quite normal to us then, although today interpreters change every 15 minutes.

New Times: The translation was all oral?

Shchemeleva: No. We had to translate a vast number of documents from and into one or another language, and all the work was invariably urgent.

We Soviet translators naturally came up against many difficulties, both professional and psychological. We had to translate legal, diplomatic, financial, naval and other terminology, had to find within a split second the proper equivalent in Russian. That was anything but easy! The psychological difficulties stemmed from the uniqueness of the situation in which we found ourselves. During the interrogation of the defendants and the numerous witnesses an atmosphere of nervous strain prevailed in the courtroom. And this could not but affect the translators.

I must note that the defendants frequently resorted to the tried and tested expedient of juggling with words, and attempted to discredit the prosecution by claiming that the translation was inaccurate. For instance, when General Jodl was faced with an order for the summary execution of Soviet Army commissars and political officers, which he had endorsed before the invasion of the U.S.S.R., he insisted that some marginal notes made by him on the order showed that he had wanted to avoid carrying out the order, and he accused the American and French translators of inaccuracies. It took quite some time to demonstrate that the general's accusation was false.

We turn next to a member of the press corps at Nuremberg, the well-known Soviet war correspondent Pavel TROYANOVSKY.

Troyanovsky: The Nuremberg trial was covered by more than 300 newsmen and there would probably have been still more had the size of the courtroom permitted. We sat behind a low barrier just behind the prosecutors' benches. The news photographers and cameramen occupied the corners of the hall and special glassed-in niches. The leading Soviet press organs were, of course, represented. Among the special correspondents were such outstanding writers as Konstantin Fedin, Ilya Ehrenburg, Vsevolod Vishnevsky, Vsevolod Ivanov, Leonid Leonov, Boris Polevoy, Semyon Kirsanov, David Zaslavsky and Yaroslav Galan. We professional newsmen worked with them.

We filed our dispatches every day (radio and TASS correspondents several times a day). There was such an abundance of material that it was difficult to decide what to give preference to.

Of course, all the leading newspapers and agencies of other countries had their representatives on the spot. Most of them sent out extensive and objective information, although there were also deplorable instances of "yellow journalism." For instance, Associated Press interviewed Otto Stahmer, Goering's defence counsel, and even put questions through him to Goering. Stahmer took the opportunity to question the competence of the tribunal and went so far as to claim that Germany had armed "for peace."

New Times: Were there many instances of this kind?

Raginsky: On the whole I must say that the cooperation of the four powers in the matter of bringing the nazi butchers to account worked. It was only at the end of the trial that the chill breath of the cold war made itself felt. For instance, in the sentences handed down. It will be recalled that the Soviet judges were obliged to register their dissenting opinion as regards the acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritzche and in the sentence passed on Hess. We could not agree also with the fact that the court did not declare the nazi government, the general staff and the high command of the Wehrmacht to be criminal organizations. Incidentally, only a few years later this stand on the part of the West became clear: the remilitarization of West Germany began.

Between hearings.

Photos by I. Razumov

New Times: When were the sentences carried out?

Razumov: The death sentences were carried out on October 16, 1946. True, Goering managed to take poison the night before.

New Times: How?

Raginsky: There were different versions of what happened. One version was that SS General Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski who had been a witness at the trial handed the poison to Goering in prison. According to another, this was done by an Austrian journalist. I believed from the very outset that nothing of the kind could have happened without the complicity of the American guards. And sure enough, last year a book came out in the U.S., by an author who had made a thorough study of the question and established that one Jack Weelis, an officer of the American prison guard, one of those responsible for the prisoners, had helped Goering to take the poison.

Well, incidents of this kind are of course not unknown in the history of trials. But it is the permanent significance of Nuremberg that is the main thing. It laid down an important criterion for the present by recognizing that the preparation of aggressive wars is a grave crime.

Nuremberg belongs not only to history. It is indicative that the principles of the trial were recognized in December 1946 by the U.N. General Assembly as norms of operating international law. These principles are a stern warning to all who harbour plans of aggression.

When we recall the work of the International Military Tribunal after a lapse of forty years, we think of today, of the need to exclude wars from the life of humanity.

"The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish," Robert Jackson, the U.S. chief prosecutor, said in Nuremberg, "have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated."

New Times: What an extraordinarily topical ring those words have in this nuclear age!

Discussion chaired by our political analyst L. BEZYMENSKY

Tell Everyone...

Mufti SHAMSUDDINHAN BABAHANOV,
Chairman of the Moslem Religious Board
for Central Asia and Kazakhstan

An international Islamic conference, "Moslems in the Struggle for Peace," is to open in Baku early next month. We, and I mean all four Moslem religious boards of the U.S.S.R., not only for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, but also for the European part of the U.S.S.R. and Siberia, the Transcaucasus, and the Northern Caucasus, are gathering for this peace conference with our coreligionists from abroad. We shall also be happy to see in Baku observers and guests from various public organizations, faiths and movements, whether international or national and regional. Moslems residing in the U.S.S.R. proposed convening this conference. The perturbing world situation has long demanded of us that we sit down at one table to see what we Moslem leaders can and should do to preserve peace on earth.

Moslem peacemaking derives not only from the instinct for self-preservation which is characteristic of all living creatures, not from the fear of departing this world, but also from the fundamental and profound conviction that it is absolutely inadmissible to destroy life, the sacred gift of All-Mighty Allah, and thus deny the great mission of safeguarding all the earth's creatures with which He has charged us.

We have seen for ourselves that the arms race impedes progress for the developing countries. Yet to understand is not enough. We must support with our actions the public forces so persistently and perseveringly seeking peaceful solutions for political and socio-economic problems and resolving them. May I remind you in this connection that the nuclear test moratorium announced by the U.S.S.R. is the military and political reality of our efforts. We Moslems, Soviet citizens, subscribe to the conviction held by the largest international anti-war organizations that the earliest ending of all nuclear weapon tests is of paramount importance. It is time the governments of the powers concerned agreed to prohibit these tests completely.

However, underground explosions only echo those on the surface.

We Moslems are particularly disturbed by the fact that many of the regional conflicts of today have erupted in traditionally Islamic areas. The Middle East conflict is especially dangerous. I am certain that Israel's rulers would never dare to behave with such impudence did they not feel the direct support of the imperialist powers, in particular the U.S. It is this backing that allows Israel brazenly to trample the territories of others, encroach upon the destinies of neighbouring peoples, and abuse Moslem shrines. Suffice to recall their desecration in Gaza and Jerusalem. The Mosque of Omar, the Ibrahim Halil Mosque and many other places of worship were turned into army barracks and the devout barred from them.

At many major international forums our voice has rung out in defence of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

Their religious and human duty moves Moslems to press for lasting peace in the Middle East, the holy land of many world religions, for the return to the Arabs and Moslems of East Jerusalem, which has been taken from them, and for the establishment of the independent Arab state of Palestine.

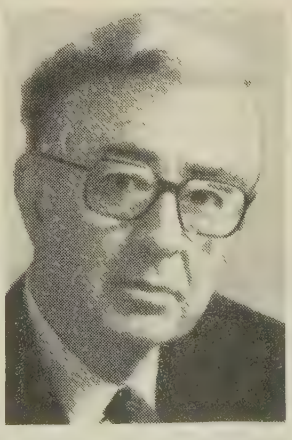
One effective means of accomplishing our peacemaking objectives has been the convening of national, regional and world conferences and gatherings of Moslems. We have initiated many symposia of this order and energetically participated in peacemaking conferences outside the U.S.S.R. But, to our profound regret, far from all Islamic organizations fully avail themselves of their opportunities in the movement against nuclear madness and the arms race. At the World Peace Council session last spring in Sofia a spokesman for Bangladesh anti-war forces said: "Though we have some hundred million people in our country, not more than a million have heard of the peace movement. It is vital to bring the truth to the other 99 million."

I urge religious leaders in the Moslem countries to tell their congregations in mosques, the devout wherever they meet them, indeed everyone, how vital the peace movement is.

■

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

VIRGILIO BARCO VARGAS



Virgilio Barco Vargas, the new President of Colombia, was born into a wealthy landowner's family in the town of Cucuta, North Santander Department, on September 17, 1921. He graduated in engineering at the National University of Colombia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the U.S.

He entered politics in the 1940s. From 1958 to 1960 he served as Minister of Public Works and Transportation and from 1963 to 1969 as Minister of Agriculture. He was twice elected mayor of Bogota.

For several years Vargas was in the diplomatic service, as ambassador to Britain in 1961 and 1962, and ambassador to the U.S. and concurrently the Bahamas from 1977 to 1980.

Virgilio Barco Vargas joined the Liberal Party in 1954 and was repeatedly elected to the National Congress as a Representative and Senator. On August 10, 1985, he became chairman of the Liberal Party and on May 25 this year won the presidential election.

The new President belongs to the centrist faction of the Liberal Party and holds moderate reformist views. In the socio-economic sphere, he advocates a series of bourgeois-democratic reforms.

President Barco has stated his desire to maintain ties with all countries regardless of their socio-political systems and to continue to promote relations with the socialist states.

Virgilio Barco Vargas is married, with four children.

An invisible killer cloud

The Cameroon Tragedy

When a civil servant motorcycling from the small town of Wum to the village of Nios saw a dead antelope on the road, he jammed on the brake, picked up the animal happily and tied it to the pillion. Before long, his loaded motorcycle took him to a whole cemetery of dead antelopes and cattle. A little further on he saw human corpses ....

Obviously there had been a tragedy there, although there was nothing to indicate the causes. There was no time to reflect on the incident, however: the civil servant felt he was on the point of fainting himself. Having discarded his load—no longer wanted and probably dangerous—he sped back to Wum and, overcoming a spell of weakness, scrawled a report on what he had seen to Yaounde, the capital of Cameroon. The man's name remained unknown to the general public but the world learned from him that something extraordinary had happened.

The body of evidence that has now been collected helps to reconstruct what happened near Lake Nios, which fills the crater of a dormant volcano, late on August 21.

"As Though a Neutron Bomb Had Exploded"

Many Nios villagers were already fast asleep and didn't hear the distant rumble that spelled mortal danger. A mysterious colourless cloud rose from inside the deep lake and closed in on the village, killing almost all life there within minutes. Many people died in their sleep, and others suffered excruciating pain—their bodies were covered with terrible burns. Some tried to pull their clothes off in their death agony, others crawled out of their mud huts gasping for air—but almost all of them were doomed.

"I felt as if I were drunk," Chia David Wambong, one of the few survivors, recalled. "Everyone started to cough, and some people vomited blood. Everyone was crying."

"I saw people dying, people dead all around," said a 24-year-old resident of Su-Bum, a nearby village. "They died in the houses, in streets, outside the forest, in the stream."

"My wife dropped on the ground, vomiting blood," said Francis Fang, 36, from Cha Village. "The children were burning and screaming. My wife was dead. I picked up my girls and started walking to the hospital. There were dead people everywhere on the road—so many that I was stepping on them."

Veronica Gmbie, 27, was among the few survivors in the village of Nios which had a population of over a thousand. "It was so mysterious, so horrible," she said. "When I woke up in the morning, my five children were dead. My baby was dead in my hands' Seized by a fit of painful coughing the wretched woman somehow got out of her house. Her skin was burned all over.

Of all the eye witnesses Fred Tern Horn, a Dutch priest, used the aptest simile to describe the nightmarish scene. "It was as though a neutron bomb had exploded," he said. All life had virtually disappeared from the homes, woods and fields, but round mud huts with pointed thatched roofs stood intact as if nothing had happened. The meadows, hills and woods remained as emerald green as ever, but the lake waters, which only recently had pleased the eye with their crystal-clear blue, had turned brownish tinged with white.

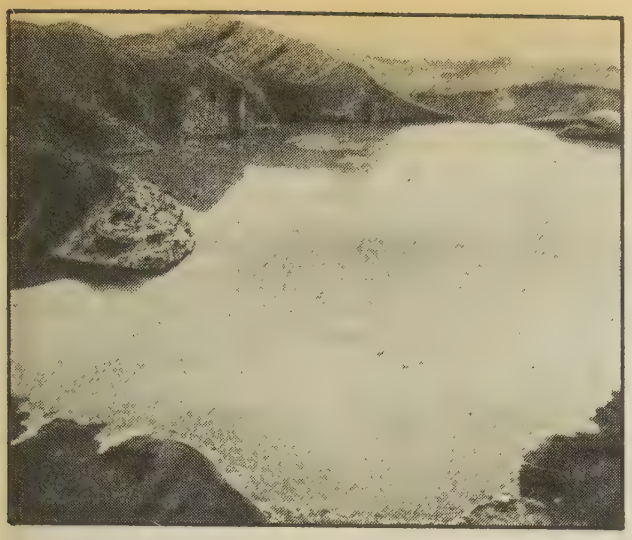
Some of the peasants got off with a dead faint which saved their lives. Awakening to the terrifying aftermath of the disaster, they got down to digging graves and burying their relatives. Something had to be done quickly to prevent the outbreak of cholera or typhus which could be caused by the innumerable corpses of animals rapidly putrefying in the heat. To bury them they needed earth-moving machines. The machines were sent to the stricken villages but soggy roads proved extremely difficult for the heavy bulldozers to negotiate. So troops were sent to dig trenches and pits by hand.

Hypotheses

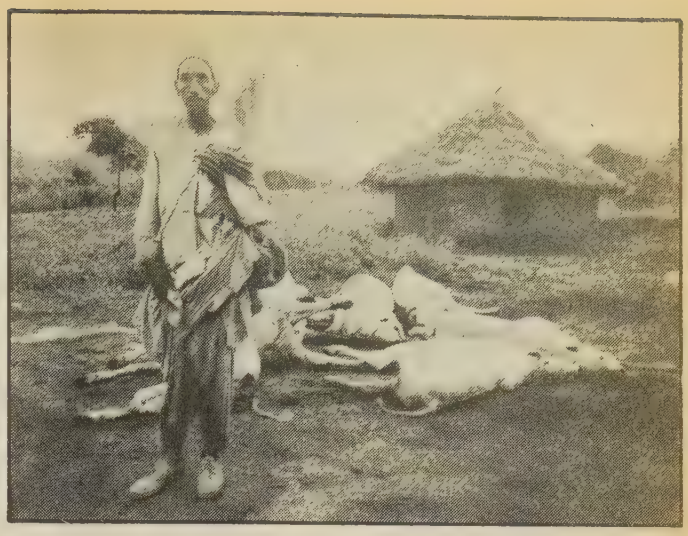
But what had actually happened in Cameroon? Why did some people suddenly smell rotten eggs, and others gunpowder smoke? What was it that caused the burns?

The Cameroon tragedy came as a greater shock to the world public than many other natural calamities, such as catastrophic earthquakes, floods or typhoons, that had taken hundreds of lives. This time death came from a

This is how U.S. News and World Report pictures the tragic sequence of events in which either a landslide, an earthquake or volcanic activity caused an enormous gas bubble to discharge its lethal fumes.



The killer lake.



A survivor.

Reproduced from Time (U.S.)

beautiful mountain lake which made the calamity look especially sinister. The horrible incident had to be explained, all the more so since Lake Nios is not the only body of water that fills the crater of a volcano. By the way, two years ago Lake Monoun, south of Yaounde, disgorged—also in August—a lethal cloud which killed 37. This time the death toll came close to 1,800.

The following questions had to be answered: what was the chemical composition of the cloud? How had the gas formed? What had pushed it out of the water? Can such disasters be forecast and prevented?

Hypotheses abounded.

In Wum many believed the tragic events to be the work of an evil spirit which had made his home in the lake.

The freak nature of the tragedy attracted the attention of scientists in many countries. Volcanologists, geologists and medical experts rushed to the scene. A group of American scientists arriving in Cameroon came to the conclusion that most of the victims had died of suffocation by carbon dioxide and hydrogen sulphide, that they had lost consciousness within seconds of being exposed to the gas, and perished as a result of respiratory or cardiac failure. American doctors are of the opinion that chemical burns were caused by the reaction of the gases with the moisture in the air. It was possible that the gas could have changed its composition as it moved away from the lake owing to the effect of oxygen on its sulphur components. The opinion voiced immediately after the disaster that the deadly cloud contained cyanide was not corroborated by further investigation.

France-Presse quoted a visiting French doctor as saying that the victims had succumbed either to suffocation caused by the discharge of carbon dioxide or from sulphurous dioxide poisoning; these two gases had not affected any one person simultaneously.

"It seems that the two gases spread out separately, which is strange," the doctor said.

Experts are divided as to the causes of the discharge. Emmanuel Gamnje, a spokesman for Cameroon's Ministry of Mines and Power, supposes the cloud to have been a product of volcanic activity under the bed of the lake. Another hypothesis is that the tragedy was provoked by landslides which damaged silt deposits in the lake thus releasing the carbon dioxide which had accumulated there.

The American volcanologist Stanley Williams pointed out that fumaroles (effusions of gaseous and vapourous products from crevices in the crater) could have created a pocket under the waters of Lake Nios. The pocket could also have formed as a result of organic matter rotting there over a long period. When it reaches the water, gas dissolves quickly like carbon dioxide in a soda siphon. While the mixture is under pressure—be it in a siphon or a lake—the gas remains dissolved. But

● EXPERT OPINION

NIKODIM SOZINOV, D.Sc. (Geology and Mineralogy), Deputy Director of the Institute of Lithosphere of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, considers the nature of gas emissions

Can the event in Cameroon be described as unique? In terms of its tragic consequences, yes; from the geological standpoint, no.

The earth's crust contains enormous amounts of various gases, the more common among them being gaseous hydrocarbons burned by our domestic gas stoves and by high-capacity industrial furnaces. Explosive gases often accumulate in mines.

Coal seams contain so much of them that large sections of coalfields have to be closed down for fear of explosions which could be touched off by a mere spark. Nevertheless, firedamp blasts do occur in coal mines here and there—monitoring gas is no easy matter.

The Lake Nios disaster is an incident of the same order but, fortunately, far less common. A whole "bouquet" of heavy toxic gases—mostly hydrogen sulphide, carbon monoxide, fluorohydrogen compounds and carbon dioxide—was found there. These gases are always present in volcanic regions, but their enormous concentrations in one place at the moment of discharge forced all the air out of the lake area, leaving only the heavy gases that caused the catastrophe.

There are several hypothetical explanations of the Nios tragedy. Some scientists are of the opinion that gases had accumulated under the lake's silt-covered bottom; others speak of a volcanic pocket. It seems to me that both hypotheses are plausible. Even extinct volcanoes go on generating gases for tens of thousands of years. Gases accumulated for a long time until the silt-covered bottom of Lake Nios broke under the pressure. Fatally, there was

if pressure is sharply reduced, the gas escapes. Williams's guess is that being heavier than air the carbon dioxide, released from the lake in enormous amounts, displaced the air from low-lying places causing suffocation on a massive scale.

The U.S. News and World Report magazine's version of what happened is that although crater lakes in Cameroon are much like hundreds of others in various countries, there is a big difference. As a rule, crater lakes are quite deep—100 m and over. As a result, gases seeping in from the volcano or produced by the decomposition of organic matter are under pressure high enough to prevent them from rising to the surface. Furthermore, crater lakes situated in temperate zones (such as Crater Lake in southwest of Oregon State, U.S.A.) are exposed to the action of winds and to seasonal fluctuations in temperature. Water from the bottom rises to the surface along with the gases accumulated in it before the concentration of gases becomes critical.

In Cameroon, which is located near the equator, surface waters are constantly heated by the sun's rays, thus preventing colder and, consequently, denser water from rising to the surface. Enormous "storages" of gas could have built up there through the centuries of the lake's existence. Some kind of "release mechanism" is required. Lake Nios's gas bubble could have been burst by a huge landslide (August is the wettest month of the rainy season). The volcano could have awakened. A slight earthquake could have occurred.

The American geologist Don Peterson believed that gases discharged by magma accumulate in sedimental rock under the bed of the lake. Sudden emissions sometimes occur. Haroun Tazieff, the prominent French volcanologist, spoke at length on the pockets of water and gas under the lake. These accumulations are heated to a temperature of up to 1,000° C by incandescent volcanic matter from below. As the concentration inside this natural pressure cooker builds up, the "lid" is eventually bound to be blown off, with the result that water and steam break through the bottom and the gases are emitted.

Can such cataclysms be forecast? In Tazieff's opinion, science can only indicate potentially dangerous volcanic lakes so far. The only way to avoid tragedies like this, he says, is to move people out of danger zones forever.

Practical measures are already being taken today, however, to neutralize the consequences of gas emissions. In Japan, for instance, monitors installed at the foot of many volcanoes warn automatically the moment an emission of toxic gases begins, so that people can climb to the highest points of the locality to escape the gases filling the depressions. Experts say, though, that such signalling systems would have been of no use in the Lake Nios disaster because everything happened too fast.

"Impossible Not to Hear the Echoes"

Scattered around the killer lake are about twenty more water-filled craters of extinct volcanoes. Deadly chemicals of the kind that caused massive loss of life in Cameroon have been identified in the lakes of New England in the U.S. Frederic Teuri, the chief geologist at Kenya's Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, fears volcanic gas emissions could take place in his country, too. Kenya is highly seismic, and the latest serious earthquake occurred near Lake Victoria.

What is happening in the disaster-stricken area today? The ten-kilometre zone around Lake Nios has been cordoned off by troops. Thirty thousand people have been resettled. Villagers will be kept away from their homes until all the animal carcasses have been removed. The rains, common in this season, make rescue and relief work difficult. Medical aid is being offered to about 10,000 disaster victims who need it. Experts say, however, that the victims will probably suffer, for the rest of their lives, from various ailments ranging from amnesia to paralysis.

Financial, economic and technical aid is coming in from all over the world. The Soviet Red Cross was among the first organizations to send aid to the remote African country. Relief supplies have arrived from the U.N., the International Red Cross Committee and a number of Western countries. Ethiopia's gift is quite modest, to be sure, but is it the size of a donation that matters? As he handed over $5,000 to Cameroon embassy officials in Addis Ababa, the representative of the Red Cross society said that the people of Ethiopia who had themselves been stricken by a natural calamity were only too familiar with the value of help in one's hour of need.

Coping with all the consequences of the disaster will take time, however. "Children's toys and clothes litter the huts," an on-the-spot report goes, "bicycles lean carelessly against back walls, stew cakes in pots, crumpled bed sheets still bear the impress of daily life. But in the now deserted streets no men chatter. No women call to their children. No chickens squawk. No insects buzz. 'The silence is so deep,' whispers a visitor to a relief worker. 'I try not to listen,' the latter responds. Yet it is all but impossible not to hear the echoes of the tragedy."

In all probability this silence has come to stay. Should scientists establish the possibility of more leakages of toxic gas, this beautiful and fertile land will never again be inhabited.

V. ZHITOMIRSKY

no wind at the time, so the gas poured down the volcano slope into the low-lying area and suffocated people.

The so-called degassing of our planet is a continuous process the intensity of which is highest in seismic zones where gas escapes through cracks in the earth's crust and is carried away by the wind which, as a rule, prevents it from accumulating in large amounts. There is hardly a place on earth where degassing does not occur to some extent. As far as our country is concerned, Kamchatka, the mud volcanoes of the Caucasus and the mineral springs of the Transbaikal area merit special mention in this respect. Gas emissions vary in intensity and chemical composition, but degassing is all in a day's work on our planet. Therefore, I repeat, what happened in Cameroon was, geologically speaking, nothing out of the ordinary. It led to tragedy through a fatal concurrence of circumstances.

Can science combat such phenomena—or, more precisely, predict them? I think it can, given certain data obtained through long and, it must be admitted, costly investigations-observations, seismic survey, exploratory drilling etc. Forecasting is not guesswork. It must always be based on factual material, on painstaking and complicated work. The problem certainly deserves close attention and study.

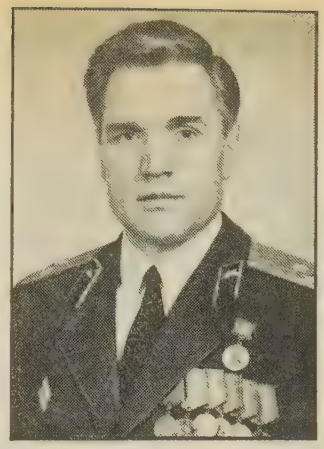
Now scientists warn of the possibility of a similar gas emission in Kenya—a country geologically similar to Cameroon with many of its lakes either filling the craters of extinct volcanoes, or located in close proximity to them. In their structure, quite a few Kenyan lakes resemble Lake Nios. It is impossible to tell whether an early gas emission will take place in Kenya. Current geophysical and geochemical investigations are expected to furnish an answer to this question. ■

Murder in Islamabad

The month of September placed Pakistan firmly in the tragic chronicle of international terrorism. On September 5, 21 passengers were killed at Karachi airport during an abortive attempt to hijack an American airliner. On September 14 an Iraqi diplomat perished when his car blew up in Karachi. Finally, on September 16 Soviet Colonel Fyodor Gorenkov, acting military attaché at the Soviet embassy in Pakistan, was gunned down in broad daylight in central Islamabad. He was 43 and had served as a military diplomat for almost 20 years.

It would be appropriate to call to mind after this heinous killing that diplomats from Libya, France, India and other countries have fallen victim to terror in Pakistan. The Islamabad authorities well know the identities of the Sikh emigrant terrorists who mugged Indian diplomats in a Pakistani temple, but nevertheless let them go scot-free. As a result, there was a second attack in this same place with the result that one of the diplomats was wounded. This is more than negligent observance of the obligation to protect official representatives of foreign states. This is a policy. In Pakistan today there are about ten military training camps for Sikh terrorists, who have killed roughly 500 people in India in the current year alone.

After the appalling Karachi airport tragedy of September 5 Islamabad was heavily censured for its impotence in the face of terrorism. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that passengers had died because of the maladroit operations of the Pakistani special services. Only Washington praised Islamabad for accepting the American "anti-terrorist" Delta team that had earlier participated in landing operations against independent Grenada. Though Malta and Algeria had refused entry to the Delta team in similar situations, Pakistan at once cleared the runway. The Delta team was late, but its very arrival showed that Washington and Islamabad see eye-to-eye on the problem of terrorism. Indeed, the Afghan counterrevolutionary dushmans, whom the U.S. subsidizes and arms, have established upwards of 150 camps in Pakistan. U.S. and Pakistani military experts co-



Col. Fyodor Gorenkov, who was killed on September 16 in the centre of Islamabad.

operate in training them in the art of murder and often accompany them on gangster incursions across the border into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It should also be noted that last year Pakistani regular troops supported dushman suppression of the courageous uprising of the captured Soviet men.

Though the well armed counterrevolutionaries are robbing and killing in Pakistan itself, the authorities continue to protect them. When the Pushtu tribes rebelled against domineering anti-Afghan terrorists and their undeclared war, dushmans and Pakistani regulars together gunned them down.

Such is the policy and approach to the problem of terrorism of the authorities in a country where a Soviet diplomat was murdered on September 16. Whatever excuses spokesmen for the ruling regime may offer, they are to blame for generating an atmosphere conducive to the crime. There is a further significant point. In firing on and clubbing opposition forces, Pakistan's leaders accuse them of links with the Soviet Union! The anti-Soviet hysteria is mounting; after all, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger is due in Islamabad shortly and anti-Sovieteering provides a fine welcome for him.

The Soviet MFA invited the Pakistani Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. to lodge a categorical protest over the murder of Colonel Gorenkov. The Pakistani authorities must be made to see that such doings cannot pass without consequences for the further development of bilateral relations.

E. LVOV

Polish Government Decision

By September 15 all political prisoners in Poland had been released, PAP news agency reports. They total 225 persons, including those freed earlier. The amnesty did not extend to people convicted on charges of spying, sabotage, terrorism, and betrayal of state secrets.

Several days earlier, Polish security services undertook to expose members of illegal anti-state groupings, including self-styled "committees" or "commissions" of the former union Solidarity. On September 11, security service officers throughout the country simultaneously interviewed activists of illicit organizations of which the authorities were fully cognizant. These interviews were public, and conducted either at internal affairs offices, enterprises or elsewhere. Members of 281 underground groups were invited for more than 3,000 such interviews, in the upshot of which many said they would no longer engage in illegal activities, as they realized that they served no purpose and that the authorities knew about their undercover operations.

Commenting on the government's decision, Interior Minister General Kiszczak said that increasing stability at home had prompted the decision. Those released included not only so-called "opposition leaders," who favoured underground activity, but also many who had not always fully realized that their activities were illegal. The changing public climate had now induced them to take a more realistic view of things.

Yet, the Polish media stress it is possible that some people may again attempt illegal activity. This is a consequence of provocative calls and financial handouts from the West.

As for the talk of a propaganda gimmick in which Western mass media have engaged over the Polish government's decision, General Kiszczak emphasized that this humane act did not at all seek to curry the West's favour as is now being suggested. "We have demonstrated before now," he said, "that we do not knuckle under to external interference and pressure. Nor shall we. The attitude of many Western partners to our recent decision will be a test of their good will and preparedness to promote political and economic relations with Poland on an equal footing."

B. KOZLOV

Neighbours in the Pacific

The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are neighbours in the Pacific, as only a few miles separate the Soviet island of Big Diomede from the U.S. island of Little Diomede.

A Twice Discovered Island

Our last stop was the township of Uelen which extends along a pebbly spit on the Chukchi Peninsula.

"How far is it to Ratmanov?" I asked the helicopter's chief pilot.

The inhabitants of the Soviet Far East often refer to Big Diomede as Ratmanov Island.

Yuri Razhin shot a glance at his navigator. Smiling, Vasily Gogunsky explained: "If we fly by way of Cape Dezhnev we'll be there in two pipes."

"Two pipes" is the time it takes to smoke two pipes of tobacco, which is how Chukchi hunters once measured the time spent out in the tundra.

From above I got a distinct picture of the narrow spit between the sea and the inner lagoon, Uelen's only street which runs exactly along the line of latitude. Slightly undulating tundra stretches for dozens of miles to the south. The crags of the edge of Asia are stately and austere. From the porthole I could distinctly make out the lighthouse and the cross. The cross was erected in 1898 to mark the 250th anniversary of the discovery of the northeast passage, now known as the Bering Strait. The lighthouse was built much later, in the mid-1950s.

Another 15 minutes or so and we touched down on Big Diomede.

Alexander Yakovenko, the local frontier post chief, and Pavel Krylov, the meteorological station superintendent, took me on a tour of the island to see its bird and walrus rookeries. Though the island is small, having an area of about ten square kilometres, it takes time to get one's bearing on its rocky paths. Nor does it have much of a population, only two meteorologists plus the officers and men of the U.S.S.R.'s easternmost frontier post.

"That's Cape Kaivasik," Pavel Krylov said, pointing to a sheer cliff. "In olden times seal-hunters watched from this point, which the Eskimos venerated as a holy place. Years ago they moved into newly built comfortable houses in Uelen. After all, it's better on the mainland, and it's easier when people cooperate, working at such a large establishment as the Hero of Labour state farm, which is one of the biggest on the Chukchi Peninsula."

Later, as we sipped the traditionally strong brew of tea at the weather station, Krylov switched on his wireless. From the radio station in Noma, a U.S. township on the coast of Alaska, came the strains of music. Suddenly it stopped, and a gale warning and the time were announced. I glanced at my watch. With us in the Soviet Union, the new day was in full swing. However, a mere 4,160 metres away, on the U.S. island of Little Diomede, it was still yesterday. No wonder, as we were on that very meridian which divides the eastern and western hemispheres.

"Whenever we talk about the international dateline, which is designated by a series of dashes on maps," Alexander Yakovenko said, "I usually point out that if anyone from Little Diomede were to cross the strait on Monday, it would already be Tuesday for him on Big Diomede, while if he went back in an hour or two it would be Monday again."

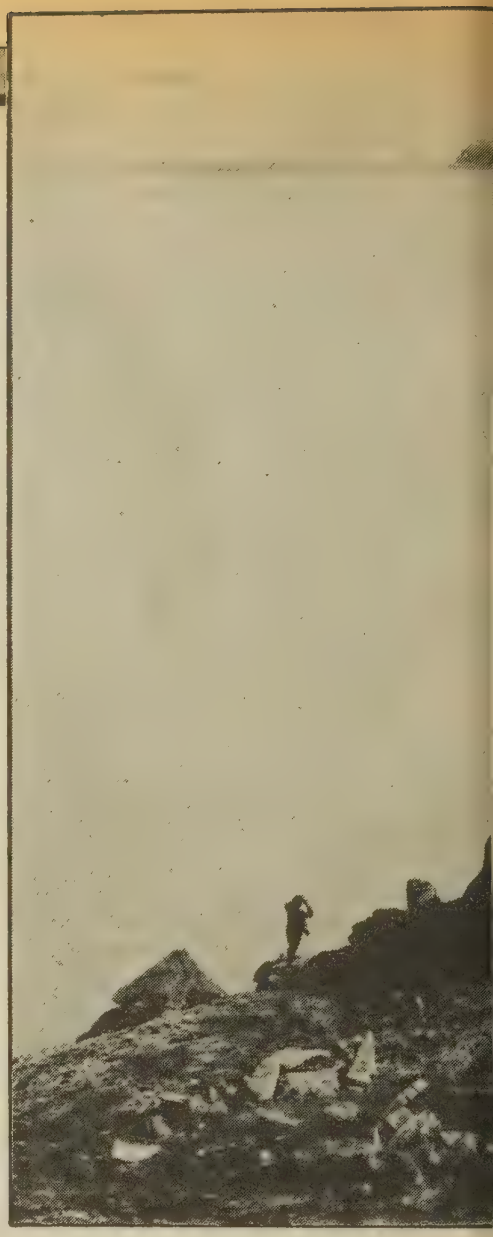
Krylov broke off to record the indications on his instruments. That done, he jotted down columns of figures to describe the snowstorms, gales, frosts and visibility in the strait, which he then tapped out in Morse to orientate ships and planes within the Arctic Circle.

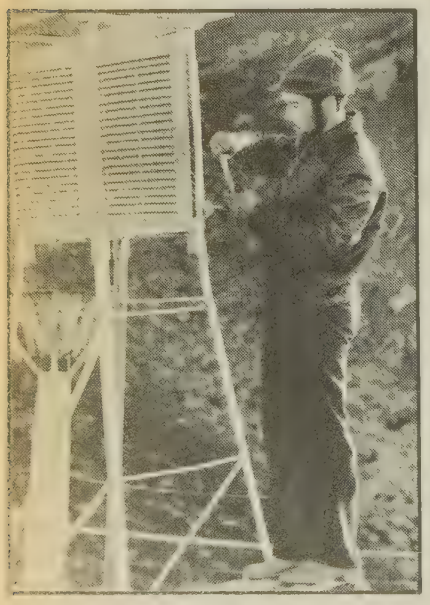
Deciding to take advantage of the short day light, with the frontier post chief and sergeant Andrei Revtov we climbed to the observation platform.

"Oh, no, we don't feel isolated from the mainland," Andrei said in answer to a question I had put. "We maintain good radio and helicopter links."

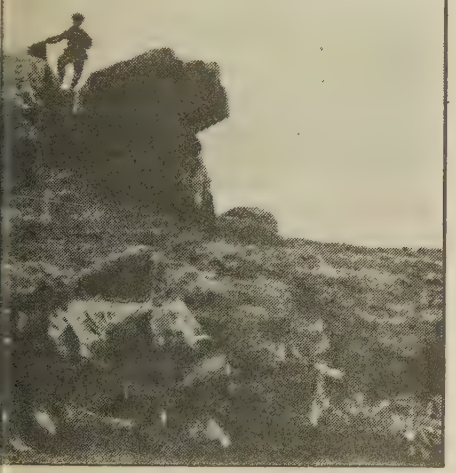
"But suppose you need urgent medical assistance?"

"Well, we have our own first-aid man. And if asked what we would do if there were a case of appendicitis, we usually say that our recruits haven't got appendices," Revtov joked.





A Ratmanov Island weatherman.



In fair weather Little Diomede is clearly visible from Big Diomede.

Photos by G. Bibik

That day the U.S. island could not be seen even with strong binoculars. Like the Soviet island, it was enveloped in fog. As fog is frequent all the year round there, it is no wonder that Big Diomede, along with its U.S. neighbour Little Diomede, was discovered twice.

In 1728 lookouts on Vitus Bering's ship, the Svyatoi Gavriil, spotted an island—actually two islands very close together—to which they gave the name of Saint Diomede (Svyatoi Diomid). In those days explorers kept to the custom of naming newly discovered territories according to the church calendar.

Then, 75 years later, on August 7, 1803, to the thunder of salvoes from the fort of Kronstadt, two Russian ships, the Nadezhda and the Neva, set off on their first voyage round the world. The Nadezhda was commanded by Ivan Krusenstern, and the sloop by Makar Ratmanov, who in his time had fought in naval engagements in the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Black Sea.

Also aboard was the naval cadet Otto Kotzebue, the same Kotzebue who years later commanded two round-the-world voyages aboard the Rurik and the Predpriyatie.

In 1816, on almost the 600th day at sea, Otto Kotzebue spotted two islands in the Bering Strait. To perpetuate the memory of the Russian seamen who had made the first round-the-world voyage, he named Little Diomede Krusenstern Island and Big Diomede Ratmanov Island, unaware that Vitus Bering had discovered the islands 88 years before.

As the years went by, other ships visited these places but failed to spot the islands. It was thought—after all anything can happen in Arctic waters—that Bering and Kotzebue had mistaken clouds of thick fog for land. It was a long time before the matter was clarified. These tiny islands have not been lost amidst the hundreds of others that Russian explorers have discovered. They now appear in atlases as they were first named—Big and Little Diomedes.

For several minutes we walked in silence across the oozing marshland before, after circumventing a vast boulder, we again stepped out onto the metalled pathway. The sergeant stopped and peered intently through his binoculars. He then handed the binoculars to me. I could now make out the sharp cliffs of Little Diomede disappearing in clouds of grey fog. I couldn't help recalling what the mainlanders had told me: in the north-east every hill is a weathermaker.

"In about 20 to 30 minutes," the sergeant said, "fog will again obscure the island."

As we went, Andrei picked some berries from a low shrub.

"These are cloudberries. There aren't many this year, which means a brief autumn and an early winter. Winters with us are cruel. Our only stream freezes right to the bottom, while the winds are so fierce that they even blow the snow from clefts in the rock."

Our helicopter took off on the brink of bad weather, so to say. We barely managed to exchange farewells with the frontier guards and weathermen. Somewhere to the right, behind the mist, lay Prince of Wales Cape in Alaska. A few more minutes passed, and I was now able to make out below the familiar narrow pebbly spit between the sea and the lagoon. We had reached Uelen again.

Naril DADABAYEV

Let There Be Good Weather

Most Americans think the Soviet Union is far away, across the Atlantic.

However, there are a few, a mere 150 or so, who not only know it is a stone's throw from the Soviet Union, but who can see Soviet territory across the narrow strait almost daily. These are the Eskimos living on the tiny island of Little Diomede in the Bering Strait.

Eskimo seal-hunters have always loved this rocky piece of land as bare as the Soviet island of Big Diomede.

Little Diomede is also the name of the Eskimo settlement on the U.S. island, that part of America closest to the Soviet Union.

It is a harsh and austere spot, with no permanent source of drinking water. True, there are small rivulets in summer, while in winter ice or snow are heated to make water. Winter is a time of almost constant hurricane-force winds and bitter frosts, while in summer the pale Arctic sun pierces the dense blanket of cloud and damp fog with difficulty.

Several years ago I flew to Little Diomede from Noma in Alaska, intending to spend only two or three days there, but because of bad weather I stayed on the island for almost ten days.

However, I am grateful, as I had unforgettable meetings with people for whom these almost lifeless rocks are home.

"Our roots are here," said Dwight Mylygrok, known far and wide as a skilled walrus ivory carver and still more as a keeper and performer of traditional Eskimo songs and dances. "Nobody wants to leave this place, even for paradise," Mylygrok grinned,

and added: "... only after one dies, perhaps."

We were ensconced in his tiny house, which he had built himself from packing material, "in which our new school was brought here."

Mylygrok speaks English and Eskimo, jealously cherishes one of the first Eskimo-language textbooks written by the Russian schoolteacher Ekaterina Rubtsova in the 1930s.

"It was my primer," Mylygrok proudly announced. "When schools were opened on your side of the Bering Strait some of us, including myself, attended classes there. We studied in snatches, but we really wanted to see our ancient tongue in print."

Mylygrok went on to describe how the time-honoured traditional ties between the inhabitants of both sides of the turbulent Bering Strait gained in strength in those years.

"I was good friends with your famous singers, Nutetein of Naukan and Atyk of Uelen. Almost every year we got together at folklore festivals held in Uelen or on Big Diomede or sometimes even in Noma. It was interesting to see the new life you were building on the mainland, the state farms and the collective farms you were setting up, and the schools and hospitals you were opening."

From time immemorial the Bering Strait has traditionally united rather than divided the people on either shore. On my way home round the world from Little Diomede—true, I could have walked all the way to the Soviet island of Big Diomede just by crossing the narrow ice-bound strip of sea—I stopped over in Washington to discover in State Department archives a document which indicated that Russia and the U.S. had once agreed upon a definite regime for the Bering Strait, favouring the peaceful long-standing customs of good-neighbourliness.

Mylygrok introduced me to many of the island's 137 inhabitants, took me to the small school and showed me the tiny chapel, of which only the little spire with its cross protruded from under the snow, and mumbled with what might have been regret, or sarcasm: "It's tough going for God here."

It's tough going, of course, for the inhabitants of Little Diomede, who survive only because they carry on their time-honoured seal-hunting skills in every season: in winter they hunt on the ice, in summer, in the cold waters of the two oceans, the Arctic and the Pacific, that meet here.

Yet, they live in the 20th century. During the war at Noma airfield Dwight Mylygrok serviced the combat planes that our men flew across our vast country to the front line. He made friends with Russian pilots and still cherishes kind memories of them. However, there are other memories too. He showed me a list and photographs of the men from the island who died in Korea and Vietnam.

"Even our legends have nothing about one nation fighting another. The people of the Bering Strait were wise. They made peace among themselves. When as a small boy I first saw a whaling gun I was shocked to see such power, I could not believe there were guns hundreds and thousands of times more powerful that had been devised to kill human beings. Today countries confront one another with weapons that cannot even be imagined.

"We have to make a start somewhere," Mylygrok continued. "Why not revive the ancient custom of friendship in the Bering Strait? After all, this is the nearest point between our two countries. Let's begin here, and perhaps it will start the ball rolling."

Only recently I visited Big Diomede and looked at the southern tip of Little Diomede, where amidst the dark rocks I was able to make out Dwight Mylygrok's tiny house, its windows looking out at our shore. I couldn't help remembering what he had said and thought how wonderful it would be if good weather were to favour relations between our two great powers.

Yuri RYTKHEU

APPOINTMENTS

Victor Lavrentyevich ZHURAVLEV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Djibouti

Victor Zhuravlev, a Russian, was born in Belgorod, central Russia, on December 3, 1933. On graduating from the Moscow Institute of International Relations in 1955, he was appointed to the Soviet embassy in Egypt. In 1960 Zhuravlev was transferred to the Foreign Ministry, serving there first as attaché and then as third secretary in the Middle East department till 1963, when he was admitted to membership of the Communist Party.

Between 1963 and 1966 Zhuravlev worked as third secretary at the Soviet embassy in Syria, and in 1967 he entered the Foreign Ministry's Higher Diplomatic School. On completing the school's course in 1969 he was appointed first secretary in the ministry's First African department. In 1971-72 Zhuravlev was first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Morocco and in 1972-78, counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Libya. From 1978 to 1986 he was chief of sector in the First African department.

Victor Zhuravlev has been awarded several government decorations.

Vladimir Ivanovich FYODOROV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Cameroon

Vladimir Fyodorov, a Russian, was born in Leningrad on June 26, 1929. On graduating from Leningrad University in 1953, he worked as a full-time functionary in the Young Communist League and, after joining the Communist Party in 1957, in the city's Party organizations.

From 1961 to 1964 Fyodorov studied at the Higher Diplomatic School and, on completing the course, served successively as third, second, and first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Algeria. Between 1970 and 1972 he worked in the Foreign Ministry as first secretary and then chief of sector in the Second African department. In 1972 Fyodorov was appointed counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Burundi, but in 1975 he was again transferred to the ministry, serving as counsellor and then chief of sector in the Second African department.

From 1979 to 1984 he was counsellor-minister at the Soviet embassy in Guinea and from September 1984 to July 1986, deputy head of the Second African department.

Vladimir Fyodorov has been awarded several government decorations.

POLEMICS

Just Forty Years Later?

Dear Comrade Mlechin,

In our periodicals, including New Times, a lot is now being written about Hiroshima and, to a lesser extent, Nagasaki. In issue No. 23 you signed a piece entitled "Nothing Reprehensible!" Though the item is short, you mention Hiroshima twice. Don't you think your grief and anger are more than forty years too late! If only our newspapers had published things like that in August 1945! But on August 7, 1945, no one breathed a word about it. Could not a principled assessment of the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima have saved Nagasaki! Then people doomed to die in the atomic conflagration would have lived.... Why were we afraid to oppose an ally's barbarous doing! One cannot be humanitarian and simultaneously connive at criminal acts.

Generally speaking, we ought to have known that the U.S. is a bad companion. We crushed Hitler's Germany and should have demanded of the U.S. that it fight Japan without nuclear weapons. That's what we should have done. So why the fine words now!

I expect a reply and would also like you to say how old you are so that I can tell whether it would be worth reprimanding you even more strongly.

G. BAKHTURIN
Bezhetsk, U.S.S.R.

NOT A MEMORY BUT A WARNING

Dear Comrade Bakhturin,

Your letter made me reflect on how often we are prepared to judge the past from where we stand today, forgetting that what is axiomatic for us now was not known yesterday. Let's go back 41 years and see how the American use of the "new type of bomb" in the war against militarist Japan seemed at the time.

As I was born after the war, I turned for an answer to Soviet newspaper files for August 1945. On August 8 Pravda featured on its back page a short TASS dispatch from Washington giving a summary of U.S. President Harry Truman's statement. He said that an American plane had dropped a bomb of greater destructive power than 20,000 tons of explosive on the major Japanese war base of Hiroshima on the island of Honshu. This was followed by a brief account of how the A-bomb was developed and the statement that the U.S. was prepared to deliver further atomic strikes should Japan not surrender.

Of course, after so many years it is easy with hind sight to assess the situation and make the right decisions. However, political moves are made in a concrete historical context. Let us recall the chronology. Hiroshima was bombed on August 6. On August 8 Japan's Ambassador to Moscow was handed the Soviet government's statement of Soviet entry into the war against Japan. The U.S. was our ally. How could the Soviet Union, bound to the U.S. by allied commitments and the common goal of crushing the enemy, censure Washington on the eve of decisive battles for using the new type of bomb?

In early August 1945 the enemy was still strong and any disagreement amongst the allies could have damaged the common cause. No wonder that towards the close of the war Hitler and his high command did all they could to drive a wedge between the allies. Japanese diplomats also tried to negotiate separately with the Americans in Switzerland. Militaristic Japan continued to occupy Soviet soil and its navy sank Soviet ships. The war against Japan was a just war and the basic aim was to defeat the common enemy as soon as possible.

There is one more thing that must not be overlooked. Far from notifying us of its intention to drop the A-bomb on Japanese cities, Washington, on the contrary, did all it could to conceal the very existence of this weapon of mass destruction. The U.S. atomic project was shrouded in secrecy from the outset. Even the U.K. was not notified. General Groves, who directed the Manhattan Project, noted later that the U.S. strategy of secrecy emerged very quickly, the aim being to do everything possible to have the use of the bomb in the war come as a complete surprise to the enemy and also to keep U.S. discoveries and the details of the U.S. project from the Russians.

In the same way the Americans tried for years to hide the true story of what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the bombing. After all, our scientists still had no conception of all the destructive effects of nuclear weapons, more specifically, radiation and its consequences. When it was appreciated that there had been no military need to drop the A-bomb, as, contrary to what Truman claimed, innocent civilians, not a major military war base, were bombed, when the entire world learned of the true scale of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki tragedy, the Soviet Union castigated the U.S. for its crime. But, let me repeat, it took years for all this to come to light.

With the passage of time much is forgotten and becomes history. This is natural. However, the years have not dulled the tocsin of Hiroshima, for the reason, I think, that it is not so much a reminder of the past war as a warning about a future war, which cannot and must not occur. It is a symbol of the danger that menaces humanity.

Hiroshima is more than a memory. Hiroshima is a warning! For this reason, ever since the end of the war, the Soviet Union has tirelessly sought to have nuclear weapons banned, never forgetting the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and never letting others forget that tragedy.

L. MLECHIN
our correspondent

A reader's impression. A recollection of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

By G. Tricoli (Italy)

Marcello Mastroianni: CHEKHOV PLAYS COULD HAVE BEEN WRITTEN THIS MORNING

Italy's Excelsiorfilm TV studio are making a film based on a theme from Chekhov under the provisional title "Dark Eyes." Marcello Mastroianni plays a leading part in it.

Interview in Leningrad

"I have done parts in Chekhov's plays in the theatre. Now I am having another encounter with Chekhov: "Dark Eyes" is based on a Chekhov theme. My hero meets a Russian girl who visits a spa in Italy and follows her to Russia. Their love becomes a serious test.... But so much for the plot now that work on the film is under way. The picture has strong characters, various fates, a world of human passions, in short, everything Chekhov tried to portray in his stories. The screenplay has been written accordingly by the scriptwriters Nikita Mikhalkov and Alexander Adabashyan, as well as the mother of our producer Silvia D'Amico, Suso Cecchi D'Amico, who is well known in the Italian cinema, a colleague of such outstanding directors and scriptwriters as Fellini, Visconti and De Sica."

"What are your impressions of the shooting?"

"The director is a great friend of mine and a marvellous film maker, Nikita Mikhalkov. I am working with remarkable actors, Yelena Safonova, Innokenty Smoktunovsky and Oleg Tabakov. They are stars of the Soviet cinema. Generally speaking, the atmosphere is pleasant. Soviet lighting experts, makeup men and sound engineers are adept at their jobs and very nice people. These are the same feelings I had when I first came to work in your country."

"Do you mean the joint Soviet-Italian anti-fascist film 'Sunflower'? It must have been your 'introduction' to our country."

"Not quite. The first meeting, albeit by proxy, took place far earlier thanks to Russian literature. But literature is only part of what helps one to learn about the people of another country, to see both something new and what you find in your compatriots. When we talk about understanding and rapprochement between peoples, we should talk about culture as a whole. I think that cultural and intellectual contacts enrich the individual, the people and the age. This is true of every area of cultural cooperation, be it architecture, painting or music...."

"And film making?"

"Yes, unquestionably, if we are talking about results. But as for what we really have—I mean cooperation between Italy and the U.S.S.R. in film making—there is still a long way to go to achieve results. There is far more to be done than has already been achieved. I think that the Italian films your cinema-goers see are far from the best, while my compatriots have a downright bad idea of your films. Why? Professional cinema people ask this question in one way or another, and our producer Silvia D'Amico and I have also discussed the problem. We are fully in agreement. In the Soviet Union we saw again that the way your film making is represented in the West is

His Career

My attempt to draw a "portrait" of the famous Marcello Mastroianni—or rather a profile because his 40 years in the cinema and theatre and 130 film appearances can hardly be crowded into one article—coincided with his visit to our country. He appeared on television, gave newspaper interviews and met fellow actors in Moscow and Leningrad. The main purpose of his visit was, of course, the part he played in Nikita Mikhalkov's film "Dark Eyes" based on a theme from Chekhov, and shot in Leningrad, Moscow and Kostroma. Then the crew, with the cast which as well as Mastroianni and Silvana Mangano includes a group of Soviet film stars, went to Italy. Though Mastroianni does not speak Russian, he does not feel at sea: "It is our trade—I don't know how but we always understand one another," he says. "If such understanding could be cultivated in politics, international relations would not give us any trouble...."

Mastroianni's visit and joint work with Soviet colleagues are especially heartening because the actor has now reached the pinnacle of his long career and his fame. He has made four remarkable films with four leading directors in succession, winning acclaim from Italian and foreign critics and audiences, and his work in the theatre is a great success. It is the second peak in his career, which is rare even for the greatest talents. Mastroianni rode a wave of popularity as he does today in the early 1960s, after his parts in "The Sweet Life," "$8^1/_2$," "Divorce—Italian Style" and "Marriage—Italian Style." Today he seems to be crowning his artistic career with a return to the Russian classics, to Chekhov. Mastroianni, now over 60, is brimming with vitality and creative energy.

Mastroianni's early work in the theatre was also associated with Chekhov. Acting in students' amateur dramatic groups, he was spotted by the great theatre and cinema director Luchino Visconti, and first successes were parts in Chekhov's plays produced by Visconti, among them Solyony in "Three Sisters" and Doctor Astrov in "Uncle Vanya." He also was to play another part in "Uncle Vanya," but Fellini offered him a part in "The Sweet Life" and Visconti let him go so that he should not miss his chance in the cinema.

"This author excites me," Mastroianni said of Chekhov in Moscow. According to him, Chekhov is very contemporary, his plays "could have been written this morning, indeed, tomorrow."

Mastroianni cooperated with Visconti for ten years in the theatre and then played parts in two of his films, "White Nights" after Dostoyevsky, and "The Stranger" based on the novel by Camus. The part of the young romantic Mario, as the Dreamer was called in the Italian film "White Nights," gave Mastroianni another opportunity to draw from the treasure-house of Russian literature. Another favourite of his in Russian classical literature is Oblomov, and he has always wanted to play the part.

Mastroianni went into film making in 1947 in the beneficial atmosphere of the new realism. He got a part in Lizzani's anti-fascist film "The Tale of the Poor Lovers." With every year his reputation as a film actor increased. He starred in 130 films, dozens of which became internationally famous. The best directors considered it an honour to work with him.

far below its high standards and achievements. This is so not only because cinema entrepreneurs buy few Soviet films. The 'cause and effect' relationship here is different: they buy few films because they see few. Weeks of Soviet cinema in the West are parades, so to speak, but there are no revealing films. It is a pity. Only recently have Nikita Mikhalkov's films begun to be shown in Italy. Only now, I hear, has Elem Klimov's new film been released. I say I hear—alas, I have not yet seen it. These problems, as far as I know, were raised at the recent congress of Soviet film makers. Our film makers had a meeting with their Soviet colleagues and I hope that such meetings will help promote cinematic exchanges. Our work 'Dark Eyes' will, I hope, contribute to that difficult start. At least I am sure of it."

Short respite during the shooting of "Dark Eyes."

Photo by I. Skachkova

"You are known to work abroad very rarely. How is your family taking your current long absence?"

"My younger daughter, Chiara, who is 14, was overjoyed to be able to visit the Soviet Union with me. The others understood my motives: ours is a film making family, one might say. My wife Flora is an actress. I can hardly be objective, naturally, but she is considered very gifted. Our elder daughter Barbara is a designer. Her main interest is furniture but she also works for the theatre and film studios."

"You have been to Leningrad, Kostroma and Moscow. What do you plan to do now?"

"We have just discussed cooperation. The first step is most important here because afterwards everything must come easier. Our film is proof, in a way, since the idea of a new film was born in making this one. Although we do not yet have a plot or even a finished story, we already know that we would like to make it with more or less the same team. There is a desire to make another joint film—and where there's a will. . . ."

Interviewed by M. KUSHNIR

It already seemed that the best years were past and the fame was fading. Mastroianni himself described the difficult and busy life of a film star with irony, sadness and bitterness in his film "Ciao, artista." He began turning more and more to the theatre.

Mastroianni made popular films during the 1970s, too, but his alliance with Communist director Ettore Scola played an especially significant role in his artistic career. Mastroianni played very different parts in several of Scola's films.

In 1977 Scola reforged the once successful partnership between Mastroianni and Sofia Loren and produced a great success, "An Unusual Day." The film, quietly stated, two-man show, as it were, has a very strong anti-fascist appeal. It revolves around the counterpoint between the aggressive pomp of the "historic" meeting of the Duce and the Fuehrer in Rome in 1938 and the meeting of two small people crushed by fascism, the sacked announcer of a Rome radio station and a mother of six. Their simple conversation and show of basic human feelings are drowned in the barking of man-hating speeches and the roar of brass bands.

The early 1980s saw another turn in Mastroianni's career. Whether he had "second wind" or the scales fell from the eyes of Italian directors, but they realized that such a major talent needed major parts.

Mastroianni continued his favourite theme, that of the division of the personality, the face and the mask, in "Two Lives of Mattia Pascal," produced by Mario Monicelli from the novel "The Late Mattia Pascal."

A year ago he again began to work for Scola, who had again conceived a film specially for Mastroianni, this time pairing him with the popular American actor Jack Lemmon. "Maccheroni," made in 1985, is a story of two friends who meet after a long time. Forty years ago, during the war, an Italian boy, Antonio, made friends with a young American, Robert. In the 40 years Antonio, a kind soul and a dreamer, built in his imagination a rosy portrait of his friend, a noble defender of the oppressed, a son of that fabulous America of which he had dreamed during the years of fascist rule. But when Robert came to Naples on business, he turned out to be a pushy "boss" with little that could be liked about him, a typical representative of the arrogant America of big business. Moreover, he was going through a nervous breakdown and tormented by family troubles. Antonio, meanwhile, remained as kind and openhearted as he had been in his youth, although he had not achieved much in life: he is just an archive-keeper who writes plays as a hobby. The meeting of the two old friends is a clash of two worlds, two life-styles and ways of thinking. "This ordinary man, full of a sense of dignity, is far more modest than the American but he has great vitality and imagination," Mastroianni said about the character. "Who knows, if I had not become an actor I would perhaps want to be like him."

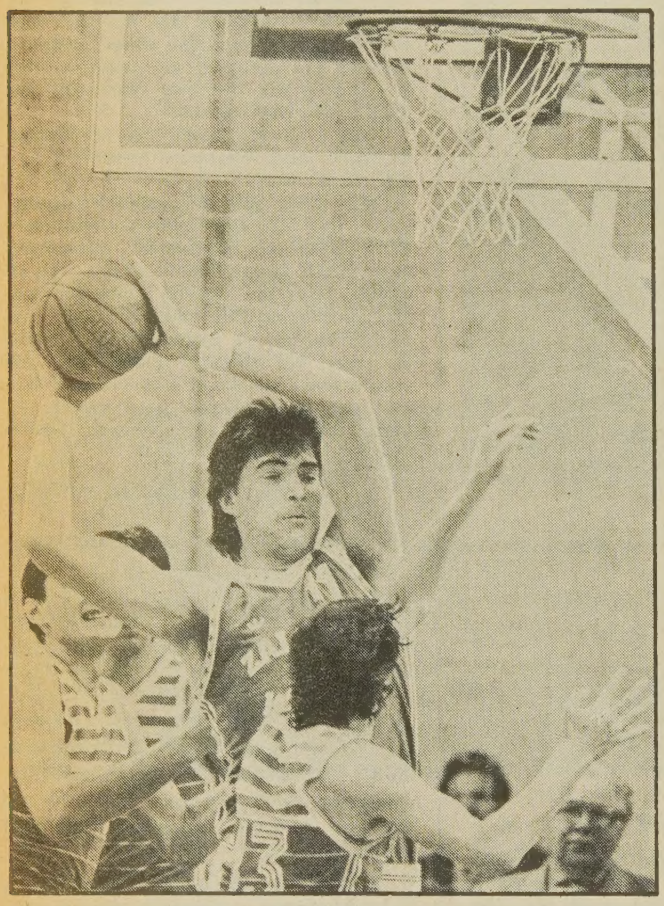
Almost simultaneously, Mastroianni was about to complete a film by his other favourite director, Federico Fellini. In his new picture "Ginger and Fred" Fellini brought together for the first time the two stars of his films, who made them world-famous, Giulletta Masina and Marcello Mastroianni. It was also a new "duet" of the two great performers of Italian cinema. That sad and moving work is an angry satire on the world of Italian show business today. Lyric sentiments and a witty satire, nostalgia for the times long past, the hopelessness of the present, imagination and reality blend in the inimitable world Fellini has created.

"An actor must play parts in films which show that there are lofty and noble values in the world. I would never take a part in 'Rambo,' the American thriller with a superman showing through the muscles of the hero," Mastroianni says.

G. BOGEMSKY

Go, Go, Sabonis!

The Zalgiris team from Kaunas has won the Intercontinental Basketball Cup, and credit for this goes largely to Arvydas Sabonis.



It must have been in 1979 that he first came to my notice. In that year the celebrated Lithuanian basketball player, Modestas Paulauskas, was preparing the U.S.S.R. team for the European youth championship. One of the boys invited was the extremely promising Arvydas Sabonis, then only 14.

At the age of seventeen he won the world title, a rare case in basketball, though perhaps common enough in swimming and gymnastics.

Arvydas is unquestionably the most outstanding of all Soviet basketball players, past or present. Not only as centre forward, but as a unique star on the firmament of world basketball and sport generally.

Even if he were not 220 centimetres tall, did not have such brawny arms and were not such a fine athlete, he would surely be brilliant as a guard of astounding intuition, capable of amazing passes and of keeping the entire court in his range of view. His technique and other qualities would have made him the brain and conductor of the game.

I can even imagine him as a first-class outside forward, conspicuous for his passes, dribbling and handling. So it is not only height that is responsible for his success. Even if he were only two metres or a little less, he would still be a marvellous basketball player in any position.

Arvydas plays for the spectators' delight and entertainment. As soon as he appeared on the scene, basketball became a popular national pastime. Even ordinary games draw huge crowds. It should be noted that as civilization progresses in intelligence, the more intricate, fast, manly and admirable games take precedence and this is particularly true of basketball, in which the score, the unpredictability and the aesthetics of play are paramount. No wonder basketball players have always been conspicuous for their cultural and educational levels, as well as their good looks.

However, Arvydas is a real phenomenon, attracting a following comparable to that of stars of stage and screen. Television viewers, who only recently had no interest in the game, avidly watch matches, in which Arvydas plays either internationally or for his home Zalgiris team.

When I took him, then 17, along to the world championship in 1982, many were bewildered, believing him too young to stand the pace.

True enough, in mentality and temperament he was still a callow boy, however, I could see that he was maturing fast and was undoubtedly full of promise.

Though earlier I had recruited many boys of promise into the national team, with Arvydas matters were simpler: his talents were apparent at first glance.

Arvydas has long reached full flower. He is great not only because he is a star in his own right. He is great because he has tremendous team spirit. For him the team is everything. Generally speaking, the centre forward serves the team, his partners, and Arvydas does this better than anyone else. He stage-manages both the attack and the counterattack; incidentally, without him the Zalgiris team would never cope with a counteroffensive. His team spirit makes the day for the whole squad. He shields them, helps them to dodge and extends their range of play. He is on the court for virtually all forty minutes of the game, where, indeed, he is the leading player. Muscular, broad-shouldered, a fine leaper, and an ace at the game, he dedicates all his faculties to the team.

The top members of rival teams, often two at once, try to cope with him. Tough, sometimes downright aggressive, they block him. They don't let him play. In fact, were Arvydas to play only for himself he would not be the outstanding athlete he is.

One more thing. He has his own distinctive outlook on life generally, not only as far as the game is concerned. He is all for the idea, the collective, team spirit. He knows how to go all out to win. Of course, many of these faculties are the product of the psychological climate and traditional team spirit, and much has been inculcated by his coaches and partners. Therein lies the huge advantage we enjoy over foreign competitors in critical situations.

It is true that he is unduly temperamental. That sometimes interferes. He does not forgive partners their mistakes, though, of course, he makes extraordinary demands on himself. Occasionally he will even shout at them, not out of anger, not because he wants to shine as a star, but because error is detrimental to the game. He knits the entire team together in the drive to win, and he never spares himself. It is as if he were always telling himself: Go, Go, Sabonis!

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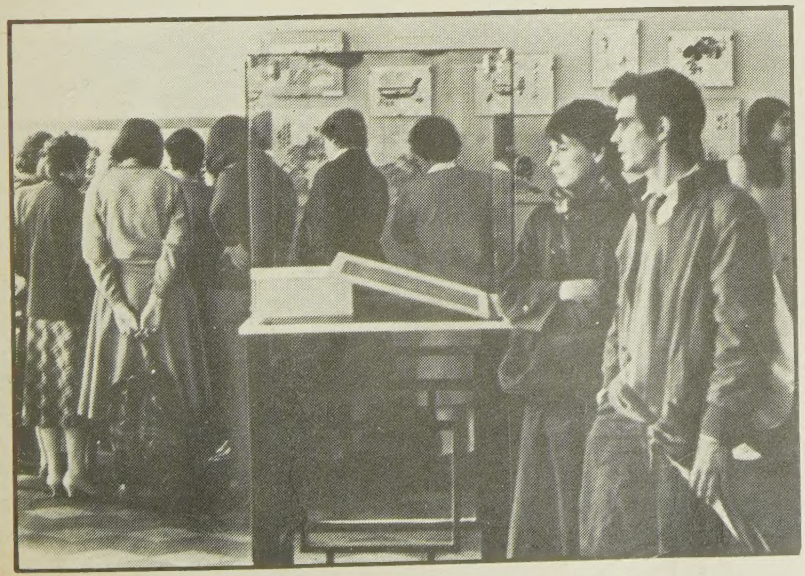
THE ARTS OF CHINA

It would be no exaggeration to say that perhaps every piece displayed at the contemporary Chinese xylography and art books exhibition is a miniature gem. Dominating the show, which was mounted recently at the Moscow Museum of Oriental Art, were works done in the modern Guohua style of painting. Nevertheless the time-honoured technique of painting with water colours on paper and silk scrolls has not meant adherence to traditional subject matter. Unlike China's old national art of painting, whose origins are lost in the mists of time, it boldly probes the world of nature, generating a profusion of colours and flavours. All this explains the enthusiastic comments Muscovites have left in the visitors' book.



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E. Basiliya

Morning.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

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